The History Of The Rebellion And Civil Wars In England V4: To Which Is Added An Historical View Of The Affairs Of Ireland

Edward Earl Of Clarendon

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS

IN ENGLAND,

TO WHICH IS ADDED

An Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland.

By EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

A NEW EDITION,

EXHIBITING A FAITHFUL COLLATION OF THE ORIGINAL MS.,
WITH ALL THE SUPPRESSED PASSAGES;

ALSO THE

UNPUBLISHED NOTES OF BISHOP WARBURTON.

VOLUME IV.

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OF THE REBELLION, &c.

BOOK VII.—[CONTINUED.]

THE earl of Essex entered into London on the 25th of September, (a day we shall have occasion to remember upon another solemnity,) and was the next day visited, at Essex house, by the speaker and the whole house of commons, who declared to him, "that they came to congratulate his notable success; and to render the thanks of the kingdom to him, for his incomparable conduct and courage; and that they had caused their acknowledgment to be entered in their journal book, as a monument and record of his virtue, and their gratitude." A day or two after, solemn thanks were rendered to those members of both houses, who had command in the army, and some extraordinary signification of respect derived to the superior officers throughout the army. A gaudy letter of kindness and value was sent to colonel Massy, and, which made the letter of more value, a thousand pounds was sent him as a gratuity or present for his service, over and above what was due to him for his pay, and some largess to all the inferior officers, and a month's pay, over and above their arrears, to the soldiers of that garrison.

Lest the discourse and apprehension of the jealousy between the earl of Essex and sir William Waller might administer hope or suspicion, that some division might grow amongst themselves, and, from thence, that the king might receive any advantage, great care was taken to make, and greater to publish, a reconciliation between them; in which

sir William was all submission and humility, and his excellence full of grace and courtesy. The passion and animosity, which difference of opinion had produced between any members, was totally laid aside and forgotten, and no artifice omitted to make the world believe, that they were a people newly incorporated, and as firmly united to one and the same end, as their brethren the Scots; of whose concurrence and assistance they were now assured, and satisfied that it would come soon enough for their preservation; of which they had not before a full confidence.

Though the king's army had all the trophies of victory in and after this battle, (it kept the field, and had the spoil of it; it took some pieces of the enemy's cannon, who marched off in the night, and was pursued with some considerable loss beyond Reading, where a garrison was again placed for his majesty, under the command of sir Jacob Ashley, major general of the army, an excellent officer; so that the parliament was in so much a worse state than they were in the spring, as the loss of Bristol and most of the west amounted to; for by this time Exeter was likewise reduced by prince Maurice,) yet, notwithstanding all this, the earl of Essex, as is said before, was received at London with all imaginable gratulation and triumph; he had done all that was expected from him, with many circumstances of great soldiery, and notable courage, and the heart and spirit of the parliament was visibly much exalted, and their impatience for peace quite abated.

On the contrary, upon the king's return to Oxford, there appeared nothing but dejection of mind, discontent, and secret mutiny in the army, anger and jealousy among the officers, every one accusing another of want of courage and conduct in the actions of the field; and they who were not of the army, blaming them all for their several failings and gross oversights.[1] The siege of Gloucester was not believed to have been well conducted, and that it might have been taken in half the time they were before it, if it had been skilfully gone about. The not engaging the earl of Essex

[1] And these complaints were well founded.---W.

in all the march over so open a country, was thought unexcusable, and was imputed to the want of courage in Wilmot, whom prince Rupert did in no degree favour: nor was the prince himself without some reproaches, for suffering the earl of Essex, after all the horse was joined, to march down a long steep hill into the vale of Gloucester, without any disturbance; and that the whole army, when it was found necessary to quit the siege, had not been brought to fight in that vale, and at some distance from the town, when the king's men were fresh, and the other side tired with so long a march.

But then all men renewed their execrations against those, who advised the engagement before Gloucester; the officers, who had been present, and consenting to all the counsels, disclaiming, as much as any, the whole design; and all conspired to lay the whole reproach upon the master of the rolls, who spoke most in those debates, and was not at all gracious to the soldiers; and this clamour against that engagement was so popular and universal, that no man took upon himself to speak in defence of it; though, besides the reasons which have been formerly alleged for it, this last action might well seem to justify it; for since it appeared, that the city was so much united to the parliament, that it supplied their army with such a body of their trained bands, (without which it could never have marched,) with what success could his majesty have approached London, after the taking of Bristol, with his miserable army? and would not the whole body of the trained bands have defended that, when so considerable a part of them could be persuaded to undertake a march of two hundred miles? for less they did not march, from the time they went out, to that in which they returned. But no reason could ever convert those, who looked upon that undertaking at Gloucester, as the ruin of the king's affairs.

The temper of the court was no better than that of the army: and the king was so much troubled with both, that he did not enjoy the quiet his condition required. They who had forborne to be importunate for honours, or offices, because they knew they should not be able to obtain their desires from the king, made their modesty an argument of

their merit to the queen;[1] and assured her, "that they had forborne to ask any thing in her absence, because they had always resolved never to receive any thing, but by her bounty." Many pretended former promises and engagements for creations of honour, as soon as any thing should be done of that kind. And it is true enough, that both their majesties had given themselves ease from present importunities, by making promises, with reference to a time, which they imagined, and, at that time, resolved, should not be soon: and now there was no sooner mention of conferring honour upon one or two whom they had a mind to gratify, but the rest, who had that promise, were very importunate and clamorous for the same justice. And by this means they were, upon the matter, compelled to gratify some men to whom they bore no good-will; and so, they who received the favours were no more pleased, than they were who conferred them; and they who were without ambition before, when they saw honours and offices conferred upon men, who, they thought, did not merit them better than themselves, thought their service undervalued if they did not receive the same reward. And it was a usual prologue to suits of that kind, "that they did not desire it out of their own ambition, but purely to satisfy their friends; who withdrew their kindness from them, out of an opinion that they had offended the king, who would not otherwise put so great a difference between them and other men." Princes should not confer public rewards in a season when they can only gratify few, and when so many stand upon the same level in pretences, and are apt to feel the preferring of one, as an affront and disobligation to the rest.

There was no particular that gave the king more unquietness, than the presence of my lord of Holland. The three earls had attended the king before he rose from Gloucester, and had waited upon him throughout that march, and had charged the enemy, in the king's regiment of horse, at the battle of Newbury, very bravely; and had behaved them-

[1] The king had promised the queen not to confer honours and offices without her participation.---W.

selves, throughout, very well; and returned to Oxford with his majesty; and now expected to be well looked upon: and the other two had no cause to complain; the king, upon all occasions, spoke very graciously to them, and sent the chancellor of the exchequer to the earl of Clare, "that he had liberty, and might be present at the councils of war;" where the peers usually were, and where the general matters of contribution, and such things as concerned the country, were usually debated. But the earl of Holland was not pleased; he thought nothing of former miscarriages ought to be remembered; that all those were cancelled by the merit of coming to the king now, and bringing such considerable persons with him, and disposing others to follow; and expected, upon his first appearance, to have had his key restored to him; to have been in the same condition he was in the bedchamber, and in the council, and in the king's grace and countenance; of all which he had assurance from the queen before he came, at least from Mr. Jermyn, who, no doubt, did exceed his commission; and the very deferring of this was grievous to him; and the more, because he found the same disrespect from all others, as he had done when he came first to Oxford.

He came frequently in the afternoon to Merton college; where the queen lay, and where the king was for the most part at that time of the day, and both their majesties looked well upon him, and spake to him in public as occasion was administered. Sometimes the king went aside with him to the window, in the same room, where they spake a quarter or half an hour together, out of the hearing of any body; which the queen did often in the same manner; and Mr. Jermyn, who was about this time made a baron, was very frequently with him. The king was always upon his guard towards him, and did not in truth, abate any thing of his former rigour or prejudice, and continued firm to his former resolutions. But the queen, whether from her inclination, or promise, or dislike of most other people, who were not so good courtiers,[1] (as sure none was equal to him in that func-

[1] The public misfortunes could not yet cure her of her former errors.---W.

tion and mystery,) did in truth heartily desire, that he might receive satisfaction in all things, according to his own desire; and would have trusted him herself as much as formerly: yet she complied so far with the king's aversion, that she yet forbore to press it, or to own the encouragement she had given him; nor had she a willingness to oppose so great a torrent of malice and prejudice, as she saw evidently run against him; so that she appeared not to wish, what without doubt she would have been very glad of. However the marquis of Hertford was now come to Oxford, and expected the performance of the king's promise to him, and to be admitted into the office of groom of the stole; of which the king took not the least notice to him since his return; which made it the more suspected, that the intention was to readmit the old officer; and this apprehension was confirmed by the queen's looking less graciously upon the marquis, than she had used to do. And it is true, though it may be she did not intend to make any such discovery by her looks, she was not pleased that any such promise was made, both because it was without her consent, and as it crossed what she designed; and much desired that the marquis could have been persuaded to have released it; towards which the lord Jermyn, with some passion, spake to the chancellor of the exchequer, "how unreasonable a thing it was for the marquis, who was master of so great a fortune, to affect such a low preferment, and how generous a thing it would be to quit his pretence:" but he quickly discovered him not to be willing to engage in any such proposition. All this wonderfully indisposed the lords, and the persons of quality in the town, who did not wish to see the court just filled as it had been, or the queen herself possessed of so absolute a power,[1] as she had been formerly; though they looked upon her person with all duty and reverence.

The earl of Holland did not act his own part with that art

[1] This plainly intimates, that all these distractions made no change in the king and queen's dispositions. How then can we wonder that the heads of the other party dared not trust them? Hence arose the fatal necessity of pushing things to extremity.---W.

and dexterity, which might have been expected from his wisdom and experience; nor had ever made the least apology to the king for any thing he had formerly done; nor appeared to have the least sense that he had committed any error, as his majesty himself told the chancellor, who he knew was his friend; and said, "that he behaved himself with the same confidence and assurance, as he had done when he was most in his favour; and that he retained still the old artifice of court, to be seen to whisper in the king's and queen's ear, by which people thought there was some secret, when the matter of those whispers was nothing but what might be said in the market; so his majesty protested that the earl of Holland had several times seemed to desire to say somewhat in private to him, upon which he had withdrawn from the company to the end or corner of the room, and, at first, expected and apprehended, that he would say somewhat in his own excuse; but that he had never then said one word, but what he might have spoke in the circle; with which," he said, "he was the better pleased; and that he believed, he had not been more particular with his wife, save that he used to entertain her with discourses of the wisdom and power of the parliament, and what great things they would be able to do, and how much they were respected in foreign parts; which," his majesty said, "was a strange discourse for a man to make, who had so lately left them, because he thought the king's condition to be the better of the two."

The earl had a friend,[1] the chancellor, who did heartily desire to do him all the offices and services that would consist with the king's honour, and always apprehended the ill consequence of discouraging such revolutions, and who spake often to the earl of his own affairs. And when he complained of his usage, and repeated what promises and encouragement he had received to come to the king, and of what importance his good reception would have been; "that there were many of considerable reputation and interest in the house of commons," (whom he named,) "who intended

[1] Mr. Hyde himself.---W.

to have followed, and that the earl of Northumberland expected only his advice;" the chancellor asked him, "whether he had done all things, since he came to the king, which might reasonably be expected from him?" He said, "he thought he had done all could be expected from him, in bringing himself to the king; and, since his coming to him, in venturing his life for him; and in lieu thereof he had not received thanks, or one gracious word; and now, after his office had been kept unbestowed near two years, and a promise made to him, that he should be restored to it, it was to be bestowed upon another, to make his disgrace the more notorious; which he thought would not prove for his majesty's honour or advantage.

The chancellor asked him, "whether he had asked it of the king, or informed him of the promise that was made to him?" He said, "he had done neither, nor ever would; he expected it of the king's grace, and would not extort it by a promise, which, it might be, his majesty was not privy to." The other replied very plainly to him, "that if he thought he had never committed any fault against the king, he had no reason to acknowledge it, or make excuse for it; but if he were guilty of any such, how unwarily soever it had been done, or how unmaliciously soever it had been intended, he ought to make some confession and apology to his majesty; nor could his majesty, with the safety of his honour, avow the receiving him into any trust without it; nor was he capable of receiving any offices from his friends, or the queen's own declared interposition on his behalf, till he had performed that necessary introduction." He told him, "if he would follow his advice, he believed he might receive some effect of it;" which was, "that he should send to desire a private audience of his majesty in some room, where nobody might be present; which would not be refused him; and then he should (with all the excuses upon the terror the parliament gave to all men, who had exceeded the common rules, in their administration of the trust they had from his majesty; as he could not deny he had done in many particulars for the advancement of his majesty's service) confess, that he had not been hardy enough to

contemn that power, but had been so much in awe of it, that he chose rather to presume upon his majesty's goodness, than to provoke their jealousy and displeasure; and so had complied with them more, than in his duty and gratitude to his majesty he ought to have done; for which he begged his pardon upon his knees; and if he might obtain it, he made no doubt, he should wipe out the memory of past offences by some new services, which should be beneficial to his majesty;" and he told him, that he would do very well, if he would sue out his pardon, as the earl of Bedford had done; who had asked it of the king when he first kissed his hand, and had since wisely taken it out under the great seal of England."

The earl of Holland seemed not at all pleased with this advice; said, "He did not think, though he would not justify all that he had done, his transgressions were of that magnitude, that they required such a formality of asking pardon; that his case was very different from that of the earl of Bedford, who had been in arms, and a general officer in the field against the king; whereas he had only sat in the parliament, as lawfully he might do; and if he had failed in his attendance upon his majesty, and otherwise deserved his displeasure, he had received so many marks of it before he deserved it, that might well transport a very faithful servant into a discontent that would not become him. That as soon as he found himself restored to any proportion of his majesty's grace and confidence, his own inclination would carry him to as humble apologies, and as deep acknowledgments of all his transgressions, as could be expected from him, and such as he believed would reconcile the king's goodness to him: but to make the first advance by such a kind of submission, he did not think he could prevail over himself to do it." However, he took his advice very kindly, and spoke often with him after upon the same subject.

Being, upon conference with some other friends, advised the same, especially by his daughter, (whom he loved and esteemed exceedingly,) so that he seemed resolved to do it; but whether he thought worse of the king's affairs, or

liked the court the less, because he saw the poverty of it, and that whatever place or favour he might obtain, he could not expect a support from it to defray his expenses, (nor could he draw it from any other place,) he delayed it till the king found it reasonable to confer the office he had so long promised, upon the marquis of Hertford.

And then withdrawing himself, for his convenience, to a neighbour village, where he had a private lodging; after a few days, with the help of a dark night and a good guide, he got himself into the enemy's quarters, and laid himself at the feet of the parliament; which, after a short imprisonment, gave him leave to live in his own house, without further considering him, than as a man able to do little good or harm. And yet he did endeavour to render himself as grateful to them as he could, by an act very unsuitable to his honour, or his own generous nature: for he published a declaration in print of the cause of his going to, and returning from, Oxford; in which he endeavoured to make it believed, "that his compassion and love to his country had only prevailed with him to go to the king, in hope to have been able, upon the long knowledge his majesty had of his fidelity, to persuade him to make a peace with his parliament; which, from the time of his coming thither, he had laboured to do; but that he found the court so indisposed to peace, and that the papists had so great a power[1] there," (using many expressions dishonourable towards the king and his council,) "that he resolved to make what haste he could back to the parliament, and to spend the remainder of his life in their service:" which action, so contrary to his own natural discretion and generosity, lost him the affection of those few who had preserved some kindness for him, and got him credit with nobody; and may teach all men how dangerous it is to step aside out of the path of innocence and virtue, upon any presumption to be able to get into it again; since they usually satisfy themselves in doing any thing to mend the present exigent they are in, rather than

[1] If you will believe lord Sunderland, in his letter to his lady, this was but too true; see note at p. 1517.—W.

think of returning to that condition of innocence, from whence they departed with a purpose of returning.

However, this unhappy ill carriage of the earl doth not absolve the king's council from oversight in treating him no better; which was a great error; and made the king, and all those about him, looked upon as implacable; and so diverted all men from further thoughts of returning to their duty by such application, and made those who abhorred the war, and the violent counsels in the carrying it on, choose rather to acquiesce, and expect a conjuncture when a universal peace might be made, than to expose themselves by unseasonable and unwelcome addresses. The earl of Northumberland, who was gone to Petworth, as is said before, with a purpose of going to the king, if by the lord Conway's negotiation, and the earl of Holland's reception, he found encouragement, returned to the parliament, where he was received with great respect, all men concluding, that he had never intended to do, what he had not done. And the other members, who had entertained the same resolutions, changed their minds with him, and returned to their former station: and the two earls who yet remained at Oxford, shortly after found means to make their peace; and returned again to their own habitations in London, without further mark of displeasure, than a restraint, from coming to the house of peers, or being trusted in their counsels.

The committee from the two houses of parliament, which was sent into Scotland in July before, in the distraction of their affairs, when sir William Waller was defeated, and the earl of Essex's army unserviceable, as is remembered, found that kingdom in so good and ready a posture for their reception, that they had called an assembly of their kirk, and a convention of the estates, (which is the parliament,) without, and expressly against, the king's consent, and without any colour of law; for the time, when, by their late act of parliament, they might of right challenge those meetings, was not come by almost a year; and the king had refused to convene them sooner. The kingdom was at unity and peace amongst themselves, and so at the more leisure to help their neighbours; and the government of all affairs in their hands

who were to be confided in; and they again ruled and disposed by a few, who were thoroughly engaged in the counsels and discomposures in England; for all those who were visibly affected to the king's service, or disaffected eminently to the persons in authority there, were fled the kingdom: and they who stayed behind, either had, or pretended to have, the same affections; of which a full declared zeal, and good-will to the parliament of England, was a common evidence.

So that the committee found as good a welcome as they could wish, and all men disposed to gain a good opinion with them: a committee was appointed, both out of the convention of estates, and the assembly, "to treat with them, and to make such conclusions, as might be thought necessary to advance the peace and happiness of both kingdoms." These men complied with them, in their full sense of the sad condition of the affairs of England, and in their own concernment in the misfortunes which should befall them: they said, "they well understood how much the fate of Scotland was involved in what should befall the parliament in England; and that if the king prevailed by force, and, by the power of his army, oppressed those friends, who had expressed a tenderness formerly towards them, they had reason to expect the same army should be applied to the revenge of those indignities they would easily persuade his majesty, he had suffered from that his native kingdom: and therefore they needed no arguments to persuade them to commiserate the estate of their brethren of England; or to convince them, that their case was their own, and their mutual safety bound up together: but that those politic arguments and considerations would have no influence upon the people, who had such a natural affection and loyalty to their sovereign, as no earthly consideration would be able to prevail with them to lessen their obedience towards his majesty; and that, albeit there was no visible party and faction, that appeared in the kingdom for the king, yet that there were many well wishers to him, and maligners, in their hearts, of the present reformation; who, as soon as there should be any preparation for an army to march into England, would be

ready, upon the specious arguments of duty to his majesty, and of peace to their country, and might be able to give great disturbance to the expedition, or to disquiet the realm, when the most eminently affected were marched towards the relief of their distressed neighbours; except some obligation of conscience were laid upon the people; who only preferred what they called their piety to God, before their inclination to their prince, and the setting up the kingdom of Jesus Christ, before the vindication of a temporal jurisdiction."

For such an expedient, therefore, they proposed, "that a covenant might be agreed upon between the two kingdoms, for the utter extirpation of prelacy, which that kingdom was satisfied to be a great obstruction to the reformation of religion; and the two houses of parliament had discovered a sufficient aversion from that government, by having passed a bill for their utter abolition, and in the place thereof to erect such a government, as should be most agreeable to God's word, which they doubted not would be their own presbytery; and that the people being cemented together by such an obligation, would never be severed and disjoined by any temptation."

There was an easy consent, from the committee of the English, to any expedient that might thoroughly engage the other nation; and so a form of words was quickly agreed on between them, for a perfect combination and marriage between the parliament and the Scots, in all such particulars, as were most like to be unacceptable to the king; and this form being presently communicated to the convention of estates, and the assembly, as soon found an approbation and concurrence there, with as much solemnity, as was necessary to show their temper and resolution, and to provoke the consent of the two houses at Westminster, whither it was despatched with all imaginable celerity, and a signification, "that that people were in such a forwardness to advance, that they would be in England as soon as they could be reasonably expected." And it was indeed apparent enough, that, upon the discipline of the late commotions, and the wise presage and foresight of that people, that there was nothing requisite to their march, but the calling them together.

Many were of opinion, that this engagement was proposed "rather to decline being engaged in the quarrel, than out of hope or imagination that the two houses would concur with them; for though there had been a bill passed, before the last treaty with the king, to that purpose, yet they well knew that most of the peers, and persons of quality and interest in the other house, were willing to depart from that overture. Besides, that amongst those who raged jointly against episcopacy, there were so many opinions, that it would be no less difficult to establish their presbytery, than to root out the other government, to which they intended by their covenant equally to oblige them: so that upon this proposition, which was according to the known temper of that nation, they should preserve themselves plausibly, and without seeming to desert their confederates, from bearing any part in the present troubles. However, it would visibly take up so much time, that if there were no ebb in the king's prosperity and success, he might well finish his work, and this interposition be interpreted for a politic stratagem to amuse the English." But if this was their stratagem, they met with people too frank hearted, and unscrupulous to contribute towards it: for the draught of the covenant no sooner came to Westminster, but they shewed a marvellous inclination to it. Yet as well because it was not yet known what success the earl of Essex would have in the relief of Gloucester, which was like to have a shrewd influence upon men's affections and consciences, as that they might seem to use all necessary deliberation and caution, for the information of their judgments in a new case, that concerned the religion and ecclesiastical fabric of the kingdom, they transmitted it to their assembly of divines, to return their opinion "of the lawfulness of taking it in point of conscience."

The assembly, besides that it was constituted of members who had all renounced their obedience to their king, and submission to the church of England, by their appearance and presence in that convention, had been lately taught how dangerous it was to dissent from the current opinion of the house of commons: for doctor Featly, (upon whose reputation in learning they had raised great advantages to them-

selves,) having made many speeches in the assembly in the behalf of "the order of bishops, and their function, and against the alienation of church-lands, as sacrilege," and especially inveighed against "the liberty that was taken in matter of religion, by which so many sects were grown up to the scandal and reproach of the protestant doctrine, if not of Christianity itself," had so far incurred their displeasure, and provoked their jealousy, that an ordinary fellow (so well confirmed in spirit, that they doubted not his failing or conversion) was directed to make application to him in cases of conscience, and after he had gotten sufficient credit with him, (which was no hard matter,) to intimate to him, "that he had a sure and unquestionable conveyance to Oxford, or that he was to go thither himself, and if he had any occasions to use his service thither, he would faithfully execute his commands." The doctor, believing the messenger to be sincere, and the king's affairs standing then prosperous, gave him letters for the archbishop of Armagh, primate of Ireland, who waited on his majesty; and by this artifice, the same instrument received two or three letters from him, pretending they were still sent by infallible hands; and brought them always to those persons by whom he was intrusted in the work of his imposture.

The letters contained many apologies for himself, "for being engaged in such a congregation, to which he submitted purely out of conscience, and for the service of the king and church, in hope that he might be able to prevent many extravagancies, and to contain those unruly spirits within some bounds of regularity and moderation;" of his endeavours that way, he gave many instances; and sent copies of what he had said in justification of episcopacy, the liturgy, and the established government, and concluded with a desire to his grace, "to procure a good opinion from the king towards him, and some bishopric or deanery for his recompense." About the time that this agitation was in Scotland, and very little before this covenant was transmitted, these letters were produced, and a charge against that doctor, "for betraying the trust reposed in him, and adhering to the enemy;" and thereupon the poor man was expelled the assembly of divines,

both his livings (for he had two within a very small distance of London) sequestered, his study of books and estate seized, and himself committed to a common gaol, where he continued to his death; which befell him the sooner, through the extreme wants he underwent; so solicitous was that party to remove any impediment that troubled them, and so implacable to any who were weary of their journey, though they had accompanied them very far in their way.

This fresh example the *assembly of godly and learned divines* had before their eyes when this covenant was sent to them for their consideration, and speedy resolution; and according to the haste it required, that clergy returned within two days their full approbation of it; there having been but two ministers who made any pause or scruple of it, and they again soon confessing "they had received satisfaction to their doubts in the debate, and that they were fully convinced of the lawfulness and piety of it." Having received so absolute an approbation and concurrence, and the battle of Newbury being in that time likewise over, (which cleared and removed more doubts, than the assembly had done,) it stuck very few hours with both houses; but being at once judged convenient and lawful, the lords and commons, and their assembly of divines, met together at the church, with great solemnity to take it, on the five and twentieth day of September; a double holyday, by the earl of Essex's triumphant return to London, and this religious exercise.

There, two or three of their divines went up into the pulpit successively, not to preach, but to pray; others, according to their several gifts, to make orations upon the work of the day. They were by them told, "that this oath was such, and in the matter and consequence of it of such concernment, as it was truly worthy of them, *yea* of those kingdoms, *yea* of all the kingdoms of the world: that it could be no other, but the result and answer of such prayers and tears, of such sincerity and sufferings, that three kingdoms should be thus born, or rather new born, in a day: that they were entering upon a work of the greatest moment and concernment to themselves, and to their posterities after them, that ever was undertaken by any of them, or any of their fore-

fathers before them. That it was a duty of the first commandment, and therefore of the highest and noblest order and rank of duties; therefore must come forth attended with choicest graces, fear, humility, and in the greatest simplicity, and plainness of spirit, in respect of those with whom they covenanted. That it was to advance the kingdom of Christ here upon earth, and make Jerusalem once more the praise of the whole earth, notwithstanding all the contradictions of men;" with many such high expressions, which can hardly be conceived, without the view of the records and registry that is kept of them.

It will be here most necessary, that posterity may be informed of the rare conclusion, in which two nations, with such wonderful unanimity, did agree, and which was calculated for the meridian of a third kingdom, (for Ireland is likewise comprehended in it,) to insert this league and covenant in the precise terms in which it was received, and entered into; which was in these words.

A solemn[1] league and covenant for reformation and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the king, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

"We noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens, burgesses, ministers of the gospel, and commons of all sorts, in the kingdom of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the providence of God living under one king, and being of one reformed religion, having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the king's majesty and his posterity, and the true public liberty, safety, and peace of the kingdoms, wherein every one's private condition is included; and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts, and practices of the enemies of God, against the true religion, and professors thereof, in all places, especially in these three kingdoms,

[1] *In the handwriting of lord Clarendon's amanuensis.*

ever since the reformation of religion, and how much their rage, power, and presumption are of late, and at this time, increased and exercised, (whereof the deplorable estate of the church and kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the church and kingdom of England, and the dangerous estate of the church and kingdom of Scotland, are present and public testimonies,) we have now at last, (after other means of supplication, remonstrance, protestations, and sufferings,) for the preservation of ourselves and our religion from utter ruin and destruction, according to the commendable practice of these kingdoms in former times, and the example of God's people in other nations, after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and solemn league and covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God, do swear,

1. "That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour, in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches; and we shall endeavour to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms, to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church-government, directory for worship, and catechising; that we, and our posterity after us, may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

2. "That we shall, in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy, (that is, church-government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy,) superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine, and the power of godliness, lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues; and

that the Lord may be one, and his name one in the three kingdoms.

3. "We shall, with the same sincerity, reality, and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour, with our estates and lives, mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the king's majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion, and liberties of the kingdom; that the world may bear witness, with our consciences, of our loyalty; and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his majesty's just power and greatness.

4. "We shall also, with all faithfulness, endeavour the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be, incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments, by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the king from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any factions or parties among the people, contrary to this league and covenant; that they may be brought to public trial, and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

5. "And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace between these kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is by the good providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both parliaments, we shall, each one of us, according to our places and interest, endeavour, that they may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity, and that justice may be done upon the wilful opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent articles.

6. "We shall also, according to our places and callings, in this common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this league and covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof; and shall not suffer ourselves, directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be divided, and withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction,

whether to make defection in the contrary part, or to give ourselves to a detestable indifference or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms, and the honour of the king; but shall, all the days of our lives, zealously and constantly continue therein, against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power, against all lets and impediments whatsoever. And what we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed; all which we shall do as in the sight of God.

"And because these kingdoms are guilty of many sins, and provocations against God, and his son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof; we profess and declare, before God and the world, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own sins, and for the sins of these kingdoms; especially, that we have not, as we ought, valued the inestimable benefit of the gospel, that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof; and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the causes of other sins and transgressions so much abounding amongst us: and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour for ourselves, and all others under our power and charge, both in public and in private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation; that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these churches and kingdoms in truth and peace. And this covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; most humbly beseeching the lord to strengthen us by his holy Spirit, for this end; and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success, as may be a deliverance and safety to his people, and encouragement to other Christian churches, groaning under, or in danger of, the yoke of antichristian tyranny, to join in the same, or like association and

covenant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian kingdoms and commonwealths."

As soon as this solemnity was over, which was concluded by Mr. Henderson, (the sole ecclesiastical commissioner from the kingdom of Scotland,) who magnified what they had done, and assured them "of great success after it, by the experience of that nation, who, from their union in their first covenant, found nothing hard they proposed to themselves;" and told them, "that were that covenant now painted upon the wall within the pope's palace, it would doubtless put him into Belshazzar's quaking condition;" the speaker and commons (having first set their hands to the covenant, after they had taken it) returned to their house; and observing that many of their members were that day absent, the cause whereof was easy to be guessed, they ordered, "that, as soon as they came into the house, the covenant should be tendered to them; and whosoever refused to take it, should be proceeded against, as a disaffected person, in such manner as the house should think fit."

And they further made a special order, "that all the ministers of parish-churches within London and Westminster, the suburbs, and the whole line of communication, should read and explain the covenant to their several congregations, and stir them up, the next fast day, to the cheerful taking of it:" and particular care was taken, that all the students of the inns of court should be persuaded to receive it. But, over and above these general directions, there was a particular ceremony and application to recommend this covenant to the city and corporation of London, and another use to be made of it. The covenant was not only to bring, but to keep men together, and the taking it had only inclined the Scots to march to their assistance; they were to have one hundred thousand pounds advanced to them, and paid at Edinburgh, before they would stir; and how to advance this great sum, was not easy to resolve. All their ordinances for levying of money were spent; their issues and disbursements so vast, that no income was sufficient; their exchequer was exhausted, and even their public faith bankrupt: such anticipations upon all

kind of receipts, for monies borrowed and already spent, that they had no capital for future security.

The judicature of the house of peers (though their number was but ten, for there was no more at the sentence of justice Berkley) had helped them all they could. Justice Berkley, who had been committed by them to the Tower, shortly after the beginning of the parliament, upon a charge of high treason, and since the beginning of the war, permitted by them to sit as sole judge in the king's bench one whole term, was now brought to judgment; and by their lordships fined the sum of twenty thousand pounds, and made incapable of any place of judicature; and upon an abatement of half, and his liberty, he paid the other ten thousand pounds together, to those persons they appointed to receive it; which, since all fines are due to the king alone, and cannot be disposed but by him, many thought a greater crime than that for which he was sentenced. Baron Trevor, who was fined for the same offence, and suffered still to continue the same office, in which he had committed his misdemeanour, yielded them as much more. But these petty sums were disposed before they were received, and were but small drops to quench the great drought they sustained: so that the reputation and security of this covenant was, amongst other uses, to bring in money too.

And to that purpose, a committee of lords and commons, with some of their divines of the assembly, was sent to the guildhall, where the mayor had called a common council for their reception, to recommend to them "the wonderful advantage and strength their party should gain by taking, and being united in, this covenant; and the desperate condition they were like to be in without it: if the Scots came not to their assistance, which, without this obligation, they could not do, they were in danger to be overwhelmed by the enemy; or at least to make a disadvantageous and dishonourable peace with them; which yet they could not tell how it would be observed and kept. On the other hand, by this famous accession of strength of a whole nation, they should undoubtedly be able to master the war, and to make

those who had been the causers of it, defray the charge; and so all the public debts being discharged out of the estates of delinquents and malignants, the kingdom would not be at all impoverished, and the peace, which should hereafter be made with the king, would be sure to be inviolably observed by the strength of this union; and therefore that it could not be purchased at too dear a rate.

"It was," they said, "neither covetousness, nor want of affection and zeal to their relief, that the Scots, who took their cause to heart as their own, desired an advance of money before they drew their army into England, but pure necessity, and the poverty of that kingdom, already exhausted by their late expeditions, and keeping their soldiers together for the good of this. And if there had been money enough in that country to have been procured upon the public stock and revenue, or the mortgage of private estates, to which all men were forward for the public good, their love to their brethren here was such, that they would neither have asked nor received money for their assistance, after it had proved effectual; much less, before the yielding it. For evidence of which frank and brotherly inclination, they freely offered the engagement of their own estates, for the repayment of the money that should be advanced:" which was the first time that ever land in Scotland had been offered for security of money, in the city of London. In the end, they very devoutly extolled the covenant, magnified the Scottish nation, with all imaginable attributes of esteem and reverence, "a nation, that had engaged itself to God in a higher way, in a more extraordinary way, than any nation this day upon the face of the earth had done; a nation, that had reformed their lives for so small a time, more than ever any people, that they knew of, in the world had done; a nation, that God had honoured by giving as glorious success unto, as ever he did unto any:" and very earnestly desired the loan of a hundred thousand pounds. The rhetoric and the zeal prevailed; a hundred thousand pounds was promised, and shortly provided, and sent to Edinburgh; and the assurance of the Scots coming so full, that they were looked

upon as masters of Newcastle already. With such an alacrity all these things were transacted.[1]

That violent party in the parliament, which never intended any peace with the king, and had more desperate mutations in their purposes, than they avowed, even amongst those who concurred with them in all they desired, did not think themselves secure in the affection of the people, nor in those who had the greatest trust[2] in their affairs. They had seen the great changes in the houses, in the city, and in the country, upon their late ill successes, the defeat of Waller, and the loss of Bristol: and though the earl of Essex still adhered to them, yet they saw he was not pleased, nor favoured one of those men[3] upon whom they most depended; but, on the contrary, all who were countenanced by him, or in his confidence, were men of no principles which they liked, or who desired no other alterations in the court or government, but only of the persons who acted in it: therefore they had taken an opportunity, in the greatest dejection of spirit, and when they looked upon themselves as swallowed up by the king's power, to move, "that they might send into Scotland to their brethren there, to join with them, and to assist them with an army, that they might, by such a conjunction, have an appui that might make them so considerable, as to be treated with, and to receive conditions which might preserve them from ruin:" which proposition, being for so common an interest and benefit, had received a general concurrence; and so that committee of both houses had been sent into Scotland, to put them in mind "of their joint concernment, and how impossible it would be for the Scots long to enjoy the great concessions they had obtained from the king, when the parliament of England, by whose friendship, power, and authority, they had obtained them, should be oppressed, and forced to yield to such conditions for their particular preservations, as

[1] *The state of the king's party at Oxford which follows in MS. C., is here omitted. It will be found in Appendix A.*

[2] Their generals.—W.

[3] The independents.—W.

the king would think fit to give them," and as they may merit by accepting; and therefore that the parliament expected and desired that they would forthwith give them such an assistance as might be sufficient to preserve them both, which could be no other way than by immediately sending a good army into England, which would countenance and support their friends in the north, and keep the earl of Newcastle from being able to march towards London on that side; whilst the king encompassed them on the other, which was the present design. Sir Harry Vane was one of the commissioners, and therefore the other need not be named, since he was all in any business where others were joined with him. But they were not a little startled, when they found this message had obliged them to a present expense of a hundred thousand pounds, before there was any visible relief given them; and saw themselves involved in new obligations of guilt, and to purposes they really abhorred.

There hath been scarce any thing more wonderful throughout the progress of these distractions, than that this covenant did with such extraordinary expedition pass the two houses, when all the leading persons in those councils[1] were at the same time known to be as great enemies to presbytery, (the establishment whereof was the sole end of this covenant,) as they were to the king or the church. And he who contributed most to it, and who in truth was the principal contriver of it, and the man by whom the committee in Scotland was entirely and stupidly governed, sir Harry Vane the younger, was not afterwards more known to abhor the covenant, and the presbyterians, than he was at that very time known to do, and laughed at them then, as much as ever he did afterwards.

He was indeed a man of extraordinary parts, a pleasant wit, a great understanding, which pierced into and discerned the purposes of other men with wonderful sagacity, whilst he had himself *vultum clausum*, that no man could make a guess of what he intended. He was of a temper not to be

[1] The independents.—W.

moved, and of rare dissimulation, and could comply when it was not seasonable to contradict, without losing ground by the condescension; and if he were not superior to Mr. Hambden, he was inferior to no other man, in all mysterious artifices. There need no more be said of his ability, than that he was chosen to cozen and deceive a whole nation, which excelled in craft and cunning: which he did with notable pregnancy and dexterity, and prevailed with a people, that could not otherwise be prevailed upon than by advancing their idol presbytery, to sacrifice their peace, their interest, and their faith, to the erecting a power and authority that resolved to persecute presbytery to an extirpation;[1] and, very near brought their purpose to pass.

The nation of Scotland, in general, had been so fully satisfied in all that they could pretend to desire, that they were very well disposed to be spectators of what was done in England, without engaging themselves in the quarrel; and though there were some powerful men amongst them, whose guilt would not suffer them to believe that they could be otherwise secure, than by the king's want of power to call them to justice, yet their number was not thought so great, as to be able to corrupt the people into a barefaced act of rebellion: nor had they any such face of authority, as to invite them to it. Without a parliament, they could not propose it;[2] the king had absolutely refused to call a parliament, and it was yet above a year to come, before a parliament could be assembled without the king's consent; and in that time, the king might have the better of his enemies. The commissioners of the parliament had not been long at Edinburgh,

[1] This was not true in any other sense than this, that they were resolved to destroy the presbyterian tyranny; and I suppose the noble historian thought that their tyranny and their existence were inseparable.---W.

[2] This appears to have been an idle struggle for a parliament or no parliament. If, under the sanction of a parliament, they had sent any army into England against the king, it had been as much a rebellion as if the nation had raised and sent an army without that sanction; and a hundred thousand pounds would certainly have overcome that scruple.---W.

before they prevailed with the council to call a parliament; which duke Hamilton, and others, who pretended great devotion to the king, and were of the council, had promised the king to oppose, and said, "they were powerful enough to prevent." When it came to the point, duke Hamilton, being, one way or other, persuaded himself, persuaded others, "that the absolute refusal to suffer a parliament to be called, would not quiet the debate, nor secure the king, but more inflame those who desired it; who would take some other time, when many of them who opposed it should be absent, to propose it; and so would carry it: and that therefore they were better be absent at first, whereby the others might, without opposition, send out their summons for a parliament to assemble, at the day they thought fit; and then, as they who would serve the king would not be there, so they should prevail with as many others as they could, not to be there likewise; whereby the number which appeared would be so inconsiderable, that they would not dare to sit, but presently disperse; and this disappointment would for ever quash that design, and render those who advised it odious to the people; as men who desired illegally to engage the nation in unjustifiable ways, to disturb the public peace."

A summons was accordingly sent out to call a parliament, to meet at a day appointed; before which time, those of the nobility and gentry, who did really desire to serve the king, applied themselves to duke Hamilton, (whose advice and orders the king himself had required them to observe; unhappily still believing him to be faithful,) to know what they should do: many of the principal of them declaring their opinions to him, "that they should take an opportunity to meet together, and bring their friends with them, whereby they might make a good body of horse, and so, with their arms in their hands, they would declare against the legality of that parliament, and the meeting in it:" and named a fit opportunity to him for such a meeting at the funeral of a lady, which was to be within some days, when, according to the custom of that people, great numbers of persons of quality use to assemble, to do honour to the dead in the last obsequies. He told them, "he believed it must come

shortly to that remedy, but conceived it not yet time, and that such a meeting would frighten the people, and increase the number in parliament, and make many resort to them for their directions." And he said, "he had changed his former opinion, concerning their own being absent at that time of the meeting of the parliament, since their mere absence would not be discountenance enough, and that they who sat, would carry the reputation of a parliament, and the people would be guided by them, if there were nothing but their absence to work upon their inclinations and affections."

He proposed therefore to them, "that they might all resolve to be present, and take their places; and that, when the house should be sat, and any man should stand up to propose the taking any business into consideration, he (the duke) would first make his protestation against proceeding in so illegal a convention, and then they should all make the same protestation; and he did hope, that the number of the protesters would be great enough to dissolve the meeting; and thus they should put the best end to the matter that could be desired: but if it should succeed otherwise, then would be the time to withdraw and put themselves in arms; towards which he would make the best preparation he could; and desired them to do the like." The earl of Kinoul, and some others, made exceptions against this expedient, and pressed the former meeting at the funeral, till the duke told them, "the king liked the other way better;" and pulled a letter out of his pocket, which he had received from his majesty, and read them so much of it, as contained his approbation, "that they should meet in the parliament;" with which determination they could not but acquiesce, though they thought at the same time, that his majesty was betrayed.

The parliament met at the day; and duke Hamilton, according to his promise, took an opportunity to say somewhat that seemed to imply a protestation against the meeting; upon which, many of the lords, who had been always most engaged against the king, were very warm; and demanded, "that he should declare himself clearly, whether he did protest against the parliament;" whereupon his brother the earl of Lanrick, who was secretary of state to the king, stood up,

and said, "that he hoped that noble lord's affection to his country was better known, than that any man could imagine he would protest against the parliament of the kingdom;" and then the duke explained, and excused himself; and said, "he meant no such thing:" and so they declared, "that they would treat with the commissioners, who were sent from the parliament of England;" and appointed commissioners for that purpose.

Some are of opinion, that, even at this time, they did not intend to engage in the war against the king; but that, as a few men cozened the parliament at Westminster, by persuading them, "that they desired only a safe peace," till, by multiplication of indignities, they made it impossible to make a peace that would appear safe; so there was as small a number in Scotland, that overreached the parliament there, by persuading, "that they never intended to do any thing against the king, but that it would be too ingrateful a thing, and render them very odious to the whole English nation, if, after they had received so many obligations from the parliament, to whose protection they owed their religion, and all that they enjoyed, they should refuse so much as to treat with them, and to assist them, by their interposition, to procure a good peace for them with the king; which would be a great honour to them; and would be as great an obligation to his majesty, as to the parliament." That this was all that was in their thoughts; and that they would avoid any engagement in a war, not by rejecting the proposition, but by making such demands, as they knew well would never be accepted by the parliament. Thereupon they told the commissioners from the parliament, "that it would be impossible to engage that nation in a joint concurrence with them, against the king, but by the influence and authority of their kirk; and that it would be as impossible to procure the consent of their kirk, except by making it evident to them, that the government of the church in England should be reduced to the same model with theirs in Scotland; and that episcopacy should be totally extirpated; and that deans and chapters should be utterly abolished; without which," they said, "they could never think their

own government securely established; but if such a promise might be solemnly made, their kirk would be thoroughly engaged, and the nation, to a man, would enter into the quarrel."

Sir Harry Vane was not surprised with the proposition, which he had long foreseen, and came resolved to pay their own price for their friendship. Thereupon, the covenant was prepared, and other propositions made for the present furnishing a great sum of money, to enable them to begin their levies; and many extravagant conditions proposed for the payment of the army, and other vast expenses, that they did not believe the commissioners would yield, or that the parliament would perform, if they were yielded unto. Nothing of money, or honour, was insisted upon; and they came provided with some letters of credit, that as little time might be lost as was possible, in making all necessary preparations. The covenant was the matter of difficulty; they knowing well, that many of their greatest friends, both in the parliament and the army, had not any mind to change the government of the church; to which the people of England were not generally disaffected.

Sir Harry Vane therefore (who equally hated episcopacy and presbytery, save that he wished the one abolished with much impatience, believing it much easier to keep the other from being established, whatever they promised, than to be rid of that which was settled in the kingdom) carefully considered the covenant, and after he had altered and changed many expressions in it, and made them doubtful enough to bear many interpretations, he, and his fellow commissioners, signed the whole treaty; whereby it was provided, "That the covenant should be taken throughout all his majesty's dominions; that a committee of the Scots should always sit with the close committee at Westminster for the carrying on of the war with equal authority; that there should be no treaty of peace with the king, without the joint consent of the parliaments of both kingdoms;" and many other particulars, very derogatory to the honour of the English nation; and with all possible expedition sent it to the close committee at Westminster; in the time of their consternation, and

before the relief of Gloucester; which transmitted it presently back to them, allowed and confirmed.

And thereupon the parliament at Edinburgh resolved to raise a great army, and to invade England; and their old general Lesley, who had so solemnly promised the king, not only "never to bear arms against him, but to serve him, let the cause be what it would," without any hesitation undertook the command of it. All this time, duke amilton looked on, and sometimes sat with them; and ıen the first proclamation was prepared, in the king's name, for a general rendezvous of all men, from such an age to such an age, at such a time and place, that so their army might be presently formed, the earl of Lanrick put the king's signet, with the keeping whereof he was trusted, to the said proclamation: and all this being done, both the brothers left Scotland, to give the king an account at Oxford of all the proceedings: many of the nobility of that kingdom, who did heartily wish well to the king, having come away from thence, after the first day's meeting of their parliament, (and when the duke had broken his promise to them,) and informed his majesty at large of that which they thought foul infidelity.

These discomposures,[1] jealousies and disgusts, which reigned at Oxford, produced great inconveniences; and as, many times, men in a scuffle lose their weapons,[2] and light upon those which belonged to their adversaries, who again arm themselves with those which belonged to the others, such, one would have thought, had been the fortune of the king's army in the encounters with the enemy's: for those under the king's commanders grew insensibly into all the licence, disorder, and impiety, with which they had reproached the rebels; and they again, into great discipline, diligence, and sobriety; which begat courage and resolution in them, and notable dexterity in achievements and enterprises. Insomuch as one side seemed to fight for monarchy,

[1] *Alluding to the portion of the History immediately preceding, which is omitted in the text, but may be seen in Appendix A.*

[2] A very fine image. The queen in the cabinet, and the two princes in the field, were the authors of these disorders.---W.

with the weapons of confusion, and the other to destroy the king and government, with all the principles and regularity of monarchy.

In the beginning of the troubles, the king had very prudently resolved with himself to confer no honours, or bestow any offices or preferments, upon any, till the end and conclusion of the service; and if that resolution had continued, he would have found much ease by it, and his service great advantage. The necessity and exigents of the war, shortly after, made some breach into this seasonable resolution, and, for ready money to carry on the war, his majesty was compelled, against his nature, to dispense some favours, which he would not willingly have suffered to be purchased, but by virtue and high merit. Then all men thought money and money-worth to be all one; and that whosoever, by his service, had deserved a reward of money, had deserved any thing that might be had for money. And when it was apparent, that the war was like to prove a business of time, it was thought unreasonable, that the king should not confer rewards on some, which he was able to do, because he could not do it on all, which was confessedly out of his power. And so, by importunity, and upon the title of old promises, and some conveniences of his service, he bestowed honours upon some principal officers of his army, and offices upon others; to which, though, in the particulars, no just exceptions could be taken, yet many were angry to see some preferred; and not so much extolling their own merit and service, as making it equal to those whom they saw advanced, every man thought himself neglected and slighted, in that another was better esteemed.

And this poison of envy wrought upon many natures, which had skill enough not to confess it: the soldiers, albeit they were emulous amongst themselves, and very unsatisfied with one another, (there being unhappy animosities amongst the principal officers,) yet they were too well united, and reconciled against any other body of men; and thinking the king's crown depended wholly on the fortune of their swords, believed no other persons to be considerable, and no councils fit to be consulted with, but the martial; and thence

proceeded a fatal disrespect and irreverence to the council of state, to which, by the wholesome constitution of the kingdom, the militia, garrisons, and all martial power is purely and naturally subordinate; and by the authority and prudence whereof, provision could be only reasonably expected, for the countenance and support of the army.

The general and prince Rupert were both strangers to the government and custom of the kingdom, and utterly unacquainted with the nobility, and public ministers, or with their rights: and the prince's heart was so wholly set upon actions of war, that he not only neglected, but too much contemned, the peaceable and civil arts, which were most necessary even to the carrying on of the other. And certainly, somewhat like that which Plutarch says of soothsaying, "that Octavius lost his life by trusting to it, and that Marius prospered the better, because he did not altogether despise it," may be said of popularity: though he that too immoderately and importunately affects it[1] (which was the case of the earl of Essex) will hardly continue innocent; yet he who too affectedly despises or neglects what is said of him, or what is generally thought of persons or things, and too stoically contemns the affections of men, even of the vulgar, (be his other abilities and virtues what can be imagined,) will, in some conjuncture of time, find himself very unfortunate. And it may be, a better reason cannot be assigned for the misfortunes that hopeful young prince[2] (who had great parts of mind, as well as vigour of body, and an incomparable personal courage) underwent, and the kingdom thereby, than that roughness and unpolishedness of his nature; which rendered him less patient to hear, and consequently less skilful to judge of those things, which should have guided him in the discharge of his important trust: and thence making an

[1] An admirable observation bought by the noble author's own experience, but bought too dear.—W.

[2] He had all the qualities of the great prince of Conde in a very subordinate degree, except his personal courage, which perhaps was equal, though by reason of an inferiority in other qualities it would not appear to be so.---W.

unskilful judgment of the unusefulness of the councils, by his observation of the infirmities and weakness of some particular counsellors, he grew to a full disesteem of the acts of that board; which must be accounted venerable, as long as the regal power is exercised in England.

And I cannot but, on this occasion, continue this digression thus much further, to observe, that they who avoid public debates in council, or think them of less moment, upon undervaluing the persons of some counsellors, and from the particular infirmities of the men, the heaviness of this man, the levity of that, the weakness and simplicity of a third, conclude, that their advice and opinions are not requisite to any great design, are exceedingly deceived; and will perniciously deceive others who are misled by those conclusions. For it is in wisdom, as it is in beauty, a face that, being taken in pieces, affords scarce one exact feature, an eye, or a nose, or a tooth, or a brow, or a mouth, against which a visible just exception cannot be taken, yet altogether, by a gracefulness and vivacity in the whole, may constitute an excellent beauty, and be more catching than another, whose symmetry is more faultless; so there are many men, who in this particular argument may be unskilful, in that affected, who may seem to have levity, or vanity, or formality, in ordinary and cursory conversation, (a very crooked rule to measure any man's abilities, as giving a better measure of the humour, than of the understanding,) and yet in formed counsels, deliberations, and transactions, are men of great insight, and wisdom, and from whom excellent assistance may be contributed.

And no question, all great enterprises and designs, that are to be executed, have many parts, even in the projection, fit for the survey and disquisition of several faculties and abilities, and equally for the decision of sharper and more phlegmatic understandings. And we often hear, in debates of great moment, animadversions of more weight and consequence, from those whose ordinary conversation is not so delightful, than from men of more sublime parts. Certainly Solomon very well understood himself, when he said, *In the multitude of counsellors there is safety.* And though it

were confessed, that reason would be better discovered, and stated, and conclusions easier made by a few, than by a greater number, yet when the execution depends on many, and the general interpretation so much depends on the success, and the success on the interpretation, we see those counsels most prosperous, whereof the considerations and deliberations have been measured by that standard which is most publicly acknowledged and received. And he hath had but small experience in the managing affairs, who is not able experimentally to name to himself some very good and useful conclusions, which have therefore only succeeded amiss, because they were not communicated to those, who had reason to believe themselves competent parties to the secret. There was seldom ever yet that public-heartedness sunk into the breasts of men, that they were long willing to be left out in those transactions, to the privacy whereof they had a right. And therefore men have been often willing enough, any single advice should miscarry, of whatsoever general concernment, rather than contribute to the fame of some one man, who has thought their approbation not worth the providing for. And though the objection of secrecy and despatch seems to favour a small number, and a reservation of communicating, yet (except in those few cases, which in their nature are to be consulted, and acted together, and the full execution whereof may be by a few) I am not sure that the inconveniency will be greater by a necessary delay, or even by such a discovery, as may be supposed to proceed from the levity of a counsellor, (futile and malicious natures ought not to be supposed to be admitted into that rank of men,) than by wanting the approbation and concurrence of those, (admitting there could be no benefit from their information,) who will unavoidably know it soon enough to add to, or take from, the success, at least the reputation. And from this root much of the negligence and disrespect towards the civil councils proceeded. For as all corporations, tribes, and fraternities, suffer most by the malignity of some of their own members; so the jealousy and indisposition of some counsellors contributed

much to the disregard which fell upon the order; and in them, upon the king.

Amongst those who were nearest the king's trust, and to whom he communicated the greatest secrets in his affairs, there were some,[1] who from private, though very good, conditions of life, without such an application to court as usually ushered in those promotions, were ascended to that preferment; and were believed to have an equal interest with any, in their master's estimation. And these were sure to find no more charity from the court, than from the army; and having had lately so many equals, it was thought no presumption, freely to censure all they did, or spake; what effect soever such freedom had upon the public policy and transactions. It were to be wished, that persons of the greatest birth, honour, and fortune, would take that care of themselves by education, industry, literature, and a love of virtue, to surpass all other men in knowledge, and all other qualifications, necessary for great actions, as far as they do in quality and titles, that princes, out of them, might always choose men fit for all employments, and high trusts; which would exceedingly advance their service; when the reputation and respect of the person carries somewhat with it that facilitates the business. And it cannot easily be expressed, nor comprehended by any who have not felt the weight and burden of the envy, which naturally attends upon those promotions, which seem to be *per saltum*, how great straits and difficulties such ministers are forced to wrestle with, and by which the charges, with which they are intrusted, must proportionably suffer, let the integrity and wisdom of the men be what it can be supposed to be. Neither is the patience, temper and dexterity, to carry a man through those straits, easily attained; it being very hard, in the morning of preferment, to keep an even temper of mind, between the care to preserve the dignity of the place committed to him, (without which he shall expose himself to a thousand unchaste attempts, and dishonour the judgment that promoted him, by appearing too vile for such a trust,) and the caution, that his

[1] Meaning himself.—W.

nature be not really exalted to an overweening pride and folly, upon the privilege of his place; which will expose him to much more contempt than the former; and therefore, with a more exact guard upon a man's self, to be avoided: the errors of gentleness and civility being much more easily reformed, as well as endured, than the other of arrogance and ostentation.

The best provision that such men can make for their voyage, besides a stock of innocence that cannot be impaired, and a firm confidence in God Almighty, that he will never suffer that innocency to be utterly oppressed, or notoriously defamed, is, an expectation of those gusts and storms of rumour, detraction, and envy; and a resolution not to be over sensible of all calumnies, unkindness, or injustice; but to believe, that, by being preferred before other men, they have an obligation upon them, to suffer more than other men would do; and that the best way to convince scandals, and misreports, is, by neglecting them, to appear not to have deserved them. And there is not a more troublesome passion, or that often draws more inconveniences with it, than that which proceeds from the indignation of being unjustly calumniated, and from the pride of an upright conscience; when men cannot endure to be spoken ill of, if they have not deserved it: in which distemper, though they free themselves from the errors, or infirmities, with which they were traduced, they commonly discover others, of which they had never been suspected. In a word, let no man think that is once entered into this list, he can by any skill, or comportment, prevent these conflicts and assaults; or by any stubborn or impetuous humour, suppress and prevail over them: but let him look upon it as purgatory he is unavoidably to pass through, and depend upon Providence, and time, for a vindication; and by performing all the duties of his place to the end with justice, integrity, and uprightness, give all men cause to believe, he was worthy of it the first hour; which is a triumph very lawful to be affected.[1]

As these distempers, indispositions, and infirmities of par-

[1] The whole of this excellent.---W.

ticular men had a great influence upon the public affairs, and disturbed and weakened the whole frame and fabric of the king's designs; so no particular man was more disquieted by them, than the king himself; who, in his person, as well as in his business, suffered all the vexation of the rude, petulant, and discontented humours of court and army. His majesty now paid interest for all the benefit and advantage he had received in the beginning of the war, by his gentleness, and princely affability to all men, and by descending somewhat from the forms of majesty, which he had, in his former life, observed with all punctuality.[1] He vouchsafed then himself to receive any addresses, and overtures for his service, and to hold discourse with all men who brought devotion to him; and he must be now troubled with the complaints, and murmurs, and humours of all; and how frivolous and unreasonable soever the cause was, his majesty was put both to inform and temper their understandings. No man would receive an answer but from himself, and expected a better from him, than he must have been contented to have received from any body else. Every man magnified the service he had done, and his ability and interest to do greater, and proposed honour and reward equal to both in his own sense. And if he received not an answer to his mind, he grew sullen, complained, "he was neglected," and resolved, or pretended so, "to quit the service, and to travel into some foreign kingdom." He is deceived that believes the ordinary carriage and state of a king to be matters of indifferency, and of no relation to his greatness. They are the outworks, which preserve majesty itself from approaches and surprisal. We find that the queen of Sheba was amazed at the meat of Solomon's table, and the sitting of his servants, and the attendance of his ministers, and their apparel, and his cupbearers, &c. as so great instances of Solomon's wis-

[1] Not at all to the benefit of his person or his place, as that *punctuality* had degenerated into eastern pomp. But his different fortunes had brought him into these different extremes, which in prosperity prevented his being beloved, and in his adversity hindered his being reverenced.---W.

dom, that *there was no more spirit in her.* And no doubt, whosoever inconsiderately departs from those forms, and trappings, and ornaments of his dignity and preeminence, will hardly, at some time, be able to preserve the body itself of majesty, from intrusion, invasion, and violation.

And let no man think, that the king had now no hard task to master these troubles, and that a short and sharp blast of royal severity would easily have dispersed these clouds. The disease was too violent and catching, and the contagion too universal, to be cured by that remedy; neither were the symptoms, or effects, the same in all constitutions. It cannot be imagined, into how many several shapes men's indispositions were put, and the many artifices which were used to get honours, offices, preferments, and the waywardness and perverseness, which attended the being disappointed of their own hopes. One man had been named for such a place, that is, himself and his friends had given it out, that he should have it, when, it may be, he was too modest to pretend to it; and upon this vogue he had a title; and if it should be conferred upon another, it would be a mark of the king's disfavour to him; and thereby he should lose the ability, and credit, without which he could do no further service. Another suggested, that his friends and companions in consort had all received some obligation, and if he alone should remain without some testimony of favour, it would be a brand upon him of some signal unworthiness. No man was so hardhearted to himself, as not to be able to give a reason for any thing he desired; and he commonly had best success, who prosecuted his own wishes with most boldness and importunity; neither was there a better, or another reason for some men's preferment, than that they had set their hearts upon it, and would have it. And it was a great temptation to modest natures, to find forward men had so good fortune, that the want of success began to be imputed to want of wit.

I remember, once, a person of good quality, and of a good name in action, came to me very pensive, and told me, "how conscientiously he had served the king, without any private designs, or other thoughts, than the discharge of his

own duty, and rendering the performance of that duty acceptable to his majesty; yet that, to his unspeakable discomfort, he found, he had been misrepresented to the king, and that his majesty had entertained a sinister opinion of him, and desired me to learn what the ground of the prejudice was, and by my good testimony to endeavour to remove it." I had a very good opinion of the person, and believed the king had so, and therefore persuaded him, that the jealousy was groundless, and pressed to know, from whence he received those impressions; he excused himself in the particular, and assured me, "that he had his advertisement from a sure hand, which was to be concealed, and not doubted; that, upon my inquiry, I would find it true, though he could not imagine the cause." I promised him, "I would press the king very heartily in it, and if there were any thing that stuck with him, I presumed his majesty would be so gracious to let me know it;" and accordingly, having shortly after an opportunity to wait on his majesty, I told him the true narrative of what had passed, with my observation of the general comportment of that gentleman, and besought his majesty, "if any ill offices had been done him, or that any prejudice towards him was lodged in his royal breast, that he would graciously vouchsafe to tell me what it was, and that he would allow him an access, to clear himself from any imputations." The king very cheerfully assured me, "that he had not only a very good opinion of that gentleman, but that he was most assured, he had no real suspicion to the contrary;" and therefore bad me "proceed to the other part of my business." I told him, "I had no more, and that I was sure, I should make a very happy man by satisfying him of what I found." Then said the king, "You are not thoroughly instructed, for the other half of this business must be a suit." I replied, "if that were so, I was yet more ignorant than I suspected myself." The gentleman shortly after came to me, in pain, as I thought, with the jealousy of being in umbrage; and when I gave him pregnant assurance to the contrary, with the mention of some expressions the king had used, which were indeed very gracious, he seemed to receive it with such a countenance and gusto, that I verily

believed he had had his heart's desire. But, the next morning, he came to me again, and told me, "that I had made him abundantly happy, and that he doubted not there was no just ground for the other reports, but only the malice of those who wished them true; yet, that they had lessened his credit abroad, even with his friends; and that he found there was no way to keep up his reputation and interest in the world, whereby he might be able to do the king service, (which was all he looked after,) but the receiving some testimony of the king's good opinion, which would be a public evidence, that the other discourses were false." I was surprised, and as much out of countenance, as he should have been; and advised him "to patience, and to expect the king's own time, and method, rather than to quicken him by any importunity, which would give an ill relish to any obligation." He would not understand that philosophy, but shortly after found some other means to press the king very roundly for a place, upon the title of that good opinion he had declared to me to hold of him; not without some implication, "that, without some such earnest of his majesty's goodness, he should not be able to continue in his service;" which probably was one of the modestest addresses, which were made to him at that time. And it cannot be denied, this way the king's trouble was so great, that he many times suffered more vexation and trouble from the indisposition and humours of his own people, than from the enemy, or the apprehension of their counsels: which hath made me enlarge this digression so much;[1] conceiving it no less to be a part of history, and more useful to posterity, to leave a character of the times, than of the persons, or the narrative of the matters of fact, which cannot be so well understood, as by knowing the genius that prevailed when they were transacted.

The best expedient his majesty could find to dispel these

[1] This noble historian understood his task incomparably well. Yet has party so blinded the understanding of some who most pretend to taste, that because they dislike his political principles, they will not or cannot see, that in the knowledge of human nature, (the noblest qualification of the historian,) this great author excels all the Greek and Latin historians put together.—W.

fumes, was motion and action; and therefore, though the season of the year was too far spent, and too many officers hurt, for the taking the field again, besides that many regiments were returned to their old posts, (as the Welsh to defend their own country from the incursions from Gloucester, and to reduce some towns in Pembrokeshire, which, lying on the sea, by the help of the parliament ships, begun to fortify and gather strength,) yet he resolved his forces about Oxford should not lie still.

In the beginning of October, prince Rupert, with a strong party of horse, foot, and dragoons, marched into Bedfordshire, and took the town of Bedford, and in it a party of the enemy, who used it only as a strong quarter. This expedition was principally to countenance sir Lewis Dives, whilst he fortified Newport Pannel, where he hoped to fix a garrison; which would have made a more direct line of communication with the northern parts, and restrained the commerce between London and their associated counties; which they well understood; and therefore, upon the first news of it, the earl of Essex removed his head-quarters from Windsor to St. Alban's; and the trained bands of London, and their auxiliary regiments, marched again to him for his recruit; upon the advancement whereof, and a mistake of orders from Oxford, sir Lewis Dives drew off his forces from Newport Pannel; and the enemy presently possessed themselves of it, and made it a very useful garrison. Upon which, prince Rupert fortified Tossiter, a town in Northamptonshire, and left a strong garrison there; which, though it infested the enemy somewhat, and took great revenge upon those counties, which had expressed a violent affection to the parliament, in truth, added little strength to the king; for he lost many horse by the labour of duty, the greatest part of the body of his horse being forced to quarter near that place, for the security of the foot, till the works about the town were in such a forwardness, that they needed not fear their neighbours at St. Alban's.

In the mean time, the power of the parliament was least manifest in the west, where their party was reduced to a lowness, and confined within narrow limits after the tak-

ing of Exeter; the gentlemen of that county having been generally well devoted to the king's service, though never able safely to declare it, at least to appear in a posture of opposing the violence of the other party. Prince Maurice found a general concurrence to advance the great work, by levies of money, men, and all offices that could be expected; insomuch as, within very few days after the surrender of that town, his army of foot, by the new levies, contained no fewer than seven thousand men, (which was a body the west had not before seen,) besides a body of horse, at least proportionable to the other; and all in excellent equipage for action. And at the same time, colonel John Digby was before Plymouth, with above three thousand foot, and six hundred horse, and had taken a work from the enemy of great importance, called Mount Stamford in honour of that earl during the time of his abode there, within half a mile of the town, and which commanded some part of the river; the loss whereof gave the town a marvellous discouragement.

The first error the prince committed after the reducing of Exeter, was staying too long there before he advanced, for victorious armies carry great terror with them, whilst the memory and fame of the victory is fresh. The next, that he moved not directly towards Plymouth, when he did move; which, in all probability, would have yielded upon his approach: for the town was full of distraction, and jealousy amongst themselves, as well as unprovided for the reception of an enemy. It was a rich and populous corporation, being, in time of peace, the greatest port for trade in the west; and, except Bristol, greater than all the rest. There was in it a castle very strong towards the sea, with good platforms and ordnance; and little more than musket-shot from the town, was an island with a fort in it, much stronger than the castle; both which were, before the troubles, under the command of a captain, with a garrison of about fifty men at the most; and was only intended for a security, and defence of the town against a foreign invasion; the castle and the island together having a good command of the entrance into the harbour, but towards the land there was very little strength. This command was in the hands of sir Jacob Ashley, and as

unprovided to expect or resist an enemy, as the other castles and forts of the kingdom; there being only ordnance and ammunition, without any other provisions for the support of the soldiers within the walls; less for the receiving a recruit; and the garrison itself being by time, marriages, and trade, incorporated into the town, and rather citizens than soldiers; so that sir Jacob Ashley being sent for to the king, before his setting up his standard, as soon as there was any apprehension of a party for the king in Cornwall, after the appearing of sir Ralph Hopton, and those other gentlemen there, the mayor and corporation of Plymouth quickly got both the castle and island into their own power.

It will be wondered at by many hereafter, that those, and the like places of strength in England, being under the command of persons entirely of his majesty's nomination, were not put into a good posture of defence, when it grew first evident, that there would be shortly occasion to use them; for according to the old story in Ælian, that when in one of the states of Greece, Micippus's sheep brought forth a lion, it was generally and justly concluded, that that portended a tyranny, and change of the state from a peaceable to a bloody government; so when the two houses of parliament first produced a sovereign power, to make, and alter, and suspend laws, before they raised an army, or made a general, or declared war; when that mild and innocent sheep, that legal regular convention of a sober and modest council, had once brought forth that lion which sought whom he might devour, it might be easily and naturally concluded by all wise and sober men, that the blessed calm, and temperate state of government, by which every man eat of the fruit of his own vine, was at an end; and rapine, blood, and desolation, to succeed; and therefore that those holds should, in reason, have been then provided for.

But I shall say here once for all, that from the time that there was any reasonable jealousy of a war, it was never in the king's power to mend the condition of either of those places; and if he had attempted it, with what caution or secrecy soever, the inconvenience he must have sustained by

it, besides the failing of his end, would have been much greater than the advantage which could have accrued, if he had done what he desired. I have very ill described the times we have passed through, if that be not apparent; and that it was rather an error of the former times, that those places needed any supply, than that it was not applied to them in the succeeding.

The parliament was very glad Plymouth was thus secured; and, as well to put an obligation upon all corporations, by shewing they thought them capable of the greatest trusts, as because they could not, in truth, more reasonably confide in any other, they committed the government thereof to that mayor; who was well enough instructed, what respect to pay to their committee; which was appointed to reside there for his assistance, and to conduct the affairs in those parts. Of that committee, sir Alexander Carew was one; a gentleman of a good fortune in Cornwall, who served in parliament as knight for that county, and had, from the beginning of the parliament, concurred in all conclusions with the most violent, with as full a testimony of that zeal and fury, to which their confidence was applied, as any man. To him the custody and government of that fort and island, which was looked upon as the security of the town, was committed; and a sufficient garrison put into it. The mayor commanded the castle and the town, about which a line was cast up of earth, weak and irregular.

After the battle of Stratton, and that the king's forces prevailed so far over the west, that Bristol was taken by them, and Exeter closely besieged, sir Alexander Carew begun to think his island and fort would hardly secure his estate in Cornwall; and understood the law so well (for he had had a good education) to know, that the side he had chosen would be no longer the better, than it should continue the stronger; and having originally followed no other motives, than of popularity and interests, resolved now to redeem his errors; and found means to correspond with some of his old friends and neighbours in Cornwall, and, by them, to make a direct overture to surrender that fort and island to the king, upon an assurance of his majesty's pardon, and

a full remission of his offences. Sir John Berkley, who then lay before Exeter, was the next supreme officer, qualified to entertain such a treaty; and he, instantly, by the same conveyance, returned him as ample assurance of his own conditions as could be; with advice, "that he should not, upon any defect of forms, (which, upon his engagement, should be supplied with all possible expedition, to his own satisfaction,) defer the consummating the work; which hereafter, possibly, might not be in his power to effect:" designs of that nature being to be consulted and executed together; for in those cases, according to Mutianus in Tacitus, *Qui deliberant, desciverunt;* and the greatest danger attends the not going on. But he was so sottishly and dangerously wary of his own security, (having neither courage enough to obey his conscience, nor wickedness enough to be prosperous against it,) that he would not proceed, till he was sufficiently assured, that his pardon was passed the great seal of England; before which time, though all imaginable haste was made, by the treachery of a servant whom he trusted, his treaty and design was discovered to the mayor, and the rest of the committee; and, according to the diligence used in cases of such concernment, he was suddenly, and without resistance, surprised in his fort, and carried prisoner into Plymouth: and from thence, by sea, sent to London; where what became of him, will be remembered in its place.

Shortly after this accident, colonel Digby came before the town; and though the great damage was by this means prevented, yet it cannot be imagined, but the people were in great distraction, with the apprehension of the danger they had escaped; and those discoveries bring always that melancholy with them, that men are not quickly again brought to a confidence in one another. For no man had, to common understanding, better deserved to be trusted, or given less argument for suspicion: and upon such a defection, who could hope to stand free from jealousy? Besides, he could not but have had much familiarity with many in the town, which must object them to some suspicion, or, at least, make them suspect that they were suspected; and, without doubt, it awakened many to apprehend the immediate hand

of God in the judgment,[1] that he would not suffer a man to recover the security and comfort of his allegiance, who had so signally departed from it against the light of his own conscience; and that a man, who had been before precipitate against all reason, should perish by considering too much, when precipitation was only reasonable.

The fame of the winning of Exeter, by which a victorious army was at liberty to visit them, and then the loss of Mount Stamford, which was their only considerable fortification to the land, with those other discomposures, wrought a wonderful consternation amongst them; and made them consider, that if they could hold out, and defend their town, the country being all lost, they must lose all their trade, and so from merchants become only soldiers; which was not the condition they contended for. Insomuch as the mayor himself was not without a propensity to send for a treaty, upon which the town might be delivered to the king: and it was by many then believed, that if prince Maurice had then marched from Exeter before it, that treaty would infallibly have ensued. But when I say it was an error that he did not, I intend it rather as a misfortune than a fault;[2] for his highness was an utter stranger in those parts; and therefore was not, without great appearance of reason, persuaded first to bend his course to Dartmouth; which was looked upon "as an easy work, and a harbour, which, being got, would draw a very good trade: and that short work being performed, Plymouth would have the less courage to make resistance; and if it should, it were much fitter for the winter, which was now drawing on," (for it was more than the middle of September,) "than the other, by reason of the conveniency of good accommodation for the soldiers, near about it; which could not be had about Dartmouth."

[1] It must be owned there was absurdity enough in this man's conduct to justify the old observation; *Quem Jupiter vult perdere prius dementat.*---W.

[2] But whose fault was it that the marquis of Hertford, who so well knew the country, and who was so well beloved where he was known, was displaced to make room for prince Maurice, who was a stranger, and became hated as soon as he was known?---W.

Upon these reasons, he marched directly to Dartmouth, which, how unfit soever to make a defence against such an army, by the disadvantage of situation, and the absence of all those helps which use to contract a confidence, he found in no temper and disposition to yield; so that he sat down before it. And shortly after, there came so violent a season of rain, and foul weather, that very many of his men, with lying on the ground, fell sick, and died; and more ran away. Yet, after near a month's siege, and the loss of many good men, (whereof the same colonel Chudleigh, of whom we spake before, was one, a gallant young gentleman, who received a shot with a musket in the body, of which he died within few days, and was a wonderful loss to the king's service,) it was given up on fair conditions; and then the prince, having placed a garrison there, under the command of colonel Seymour, a gentleman of principal account and interest in Devonshire, lost no more time, but, with all convenient expedition, marched to Plymouth; which was not now in the state it had been; for the parliament, being quickly informed how terrible an impression the loss of almost all other parts of the west had made upon the spirits of that people, had before this time sent a recruit of five hundred men, and a Scotch officer to be governor; who eased the mayor of that unequal charge, and quickly made it evident, that nothing but a peremptory defence was thought of. So the prince sat down before it with an army much inferior, after he had joined with colonel Digby, to that with which he had marched from Exeter to Dartmouth; yet with much confidence to reduce that town, before the winter should be over.

Though the king's success, and good fortune, had met with a check in the relief of Gloucester, and the battle of Newbury,[1] yet his condition seemed mightily improved by the whole summer's service. For whereas he seemed before confined, upon the matter, within Oxfordshire and half Berkshire, (which half was lost too upon the loss of Reading in the spring,) and the parties, which appeared for him in

[1] I am afraid, by the words here dropped, that the parliament had too much reason to make a victory of it.—W.

other counties, seemed rather sufficient to hinder a general union against him, than that they were like to reduce them to his devotion; he was now, upon the matter, master of the whole west; Cornwall was his own without a rival; Plymouth was the only place, in all Devonshire, unreduced; and those forces shut within their own walls: the large rich county of Somerset, with Bristol, the second county of the kingdom, entirely his: in Dorsetshire, the enemy had only two little fisher-towns, Poole and Lyme; all the rest was declared for the king. And in every of these counties, he had plenty of harbours and ports, to supply him with ammunition, and the country with trade. In Wiltshire the enemy had not the least footing, and rather a town or two in Hampshire, than any possession of the county; that people being generally undevoted to them: the whole principality of Wales, except a sea town or two in Pembrokeshire, was at his devotion; and that unfortunate obstinate town of Gloucester only kept him from commanding the whole Severn. The parliament was nothing stronger in Shropshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire, than they were in the beginning of the year. And albeit the marquis of Newcastle had been forced to rise as unfortunately from Hull, as the king had been from Gloucester, yet he had still a full power over Yorkshire, and a greater in Nottinghamshire, and Lincolnshire, than the parliament had. So that he might be thought to be now strong enough to make war; the contrary opinion whereof had been one of the greatest reasons that there was no peace. And therefore many believed, that, what appearance soever there was of obstinacy, the winter would produce some overtures of accommodation; and that all the noise of preparation from Scotland, was only to incline the king to the greater condescensions; and that, in truth, they who had pretended the concurrent desire of the people, as the best reason for whatsoever they had proposed, and traduced the king with a purpose of bringing in foreign forces to awe and impose upon his own subjects, would not now have the hardiness to bring in a stranger nation to invade their country, and to compel that people, by whose affections they would be thought to be guided, to submit to changes

they had no mind to receive. And the arrival of the count of Harcourt, as extraordinary ambassador from the crown of France, was looked upon as an expedient to usher in some treaty, and to remove those ceremonies, and preliminary propositions, which, by reason of the mutual declarations and protestations against each other, might be thought of greater difficulty, than any real differences between them.

The king himself was not without expectation of notable effects from this embassy; for the state of France seemed to be much altered from what it was at the beginning of these troubles. Cardinal Richelieu, who, the king well knew, had more than fomented the troubles both in England and Scotland, was now dead; and the king of France himself likewise; and those old ministers of state who had been long in the bastile, or banished, were now set at liberty, and recalled, and in favour; the queen mother made regent; who professed great personal kindness to the queen of England, and so great a sense of the indignities the king and she suffered, that she seemed sensible, that France had contributed too much to them, and to think, that the interest, as well as honour, of that crown was concerned to buoy up the monarchy of England; with intimations, "that the king himself should direct what way he would be served by that crown." The first evidence they gave of meaning as they said, was the revocation of monsieur la Ferté Senneterre, the ambassador then resident in England; who had contracted a wonderful familiarity with the fiercest managers of the parliament, and done the king all imaginable disservice; insomuch as he had industriously persuaded some English priests and Jesuits, to engage those of the Romish persuasion, by no means to assist the king; with a full assurance, "that the parliament would allow them liberty of conscience." This minister his majesty desired might be recalled; which was not only suddenly done, but a private intimation likewise to our queen, "that she should nominate what person should be employed in his place; who should wholly guide himself by her instructions:" and her majesty was led to make choice of monsieur le conte d'Harcourt, one of the principal persons of that kingdom, being a prince of the house

of Lorraine, and so allied to the king, and grand escuier of France; and had been their late fortunate general in Catalonia, where he had given the Spaniard the greatest defeat they had received; which was not thought an unseasonable qualification in an ambassador, whose business was to mediate a peace.

His reception at London was with much solemnity, that he might not find there was any absence of ceremony or state, by the absence of the king; yet when he had a safe conduct for Oxford, his carriages were stopped at the going out of London, and his own coach, as well as all other places, searched with great and unusual rudeness, upon suspicion that he carried letters; and though he expostulated the affront, as a high violation of his honour and privilege, he received no manner of reparation, or the officer, that did it, any reprehension; which made many believe that he would have been very keen in the resentment. The king expected that, by this ambassador, the crown of France would have made a brisk declaration on his majesty's behalf; and if the parliament should not return to their regular obedience,[1] that they should have found no correspondence or reception in that kingdom; and that they would really assist his majesty, in such a manner as he should propose; which declaration, he thought, would prove of moment with the city of London, in respect of their trade; but more with the Scots, who were understood to have an especial dependence upon France.

When the ambassador returned from his audience at Oxford, where he stayed not many days, he sent a paper to the earl of Northumberland, by which he desired his lordship,

[1] i. e. let things stand on the same footing they were before the tumults of Whitehall. This was what the king wanted. What the parliament wanted, was to share his prerogative with him, both in the military and civil department, for their own security for what was past. This, while each party had the sword in their hands, was the fixed resolution of each not to depart from. Let the intelligent reader then judge, whether it was possible to end the quarrel by a treaty, before one of the parties was subdued; and then it was (and it might have been easily foreseen that it would be) too late.—W.

"to impart to the messieurs of parliament, that he had made known to their majesties, the affectionate desire the king his master, and the queen his mistress, had to contribute all good offices, in the procurement of peace and tranquillity in this kingdom; to which he found the desires of their majesties well disposed; and therefore he desired to know, if his lordship thought the two houses did correspond in the same intention: if they did, after they should make him understand the subject that had obliged them to take up arms, he would interpose to pacify the differences, by such expedients, as should be most conformable to the ancient laws and customs of the realm."[1]

After the earl of Northumberland had informed the house of peers of this representation, it was, at a conference, imparted to the house of commons, and an answer was framed by joint agreement, to be returned by the earl of Northumberland to the ambassador. In the form of it, they gave him the title of *prince of Harcourt*, and *grand escuier of France;* but omitted that of *extraordinary ambassador in England*, because it did not appear to the parliament, by letters of credence, or the sight of his instructions from the king, or queen regent of France, that he was by them employed extraordinary ambassador into England.

The answer itself was, "that the lords and commons in parliament did, with all due respects, accept of the affectionate desires of the king, and queen regent of France, to contribute good offices towards the procuring a happy peace; and that, when the said monsieur le prince d'Harcourt should make any such propositions to the parliament, by authority

[1] This, after all, was a very sage interposition. It implied that *the differences were to be pacified by expedients;* i. e. that some satisfaction was to be given to the parliament for their security; but that care was to be taken that those *expedients* did not disturb or violate the constitution. This sage proposal pleased neither party. The king, we see, expected the *parliament should return to their regular obedience;* i. e. leave the constitution in the state they found it, without further security to themselves; and the parliament was for altering the constitution.—W.

from their majesties of France, they would give then such an answer to the same, as might stand with the interest of both kingdoms, and their late solemn league and covenant." The lords proposed, "that there might be a committee appointed to treat with the ambassador:" but the commons would by no means consent to it, "till he should make it manifest, that he had authority from his master to treat with the parliament;" and withal they declared, "that if he had, at any time, any thing further to offer to them, they would not receive it from any particular member of either house; but that he should apply himself by writing, or otherwise, to the speaker of either or both houses of parliament; otherwise, they would hold no correspondence with him." The ground of this resolution was, that they might draw from the ambassador (which they presumed could not be without the privity and approbation of the king) an address, and acknowledgment that they were a parliament, against the freedom whereof, and consequently the present being, his majesty had, by his late proclamation, declared. So the ambassador, after a journey or two to Oxford, and some perfunctory addresses to the houses, returned to France *re infecta*, and without the least expression of dislike, on his master's behalf, of their proceedings.

They were scrupulous in believing that France really intended to repair the mischief it had done; and observed, that though there were some plausible compliances, in point of ceremony, with particular persons, after the death of the former cardinal; yet, that the main counsels were carried on upon the rules and directions he had left; and that the cardinal Mazarin, a person of the highest trust with the other, wholly now presided over those counsels; and considered, how much France might imagine it would conduce to their interest, that the king of England should not have all his subjects in perfect obedience, lest he might offer to be an arbiter of their great differences: I say, these men believed count Harcourt's instructions privately were no other, than the last ambassador's; whom the king had caused to be re-

called. And it cannot be denied, that they who were inclined to that jealousy, had arguments enough to increase it.[1]

When this extraordinary ambassador was appointed to come for England, Mr. Mountague was in the court of France, very much trusted by both their majesties, and by his quality, and near relation to so great a trust, his long conversation in that court, and a singular dexterity in his nature, adorned with excellent parts, was thought to have a very good place in the favour and particular estimation of the queen regent, and in the opinion of the cardinal; to whom he had been useful. With this gentleman most of the conclusions had been transacted, which were preparatory to the ambassador's journey; and it was thought fit, that he should at the same time come into England; and, in such a disguise, as might easily conceal a man better known in France than in his own country, in the ambassador's train find a safe passage to Oxford; which was carried with so much secrecy, that, besides to the ambassador himself, he was known to very few of his retinue. The count of Harcourt was not landed four and twenty hours, but in his journey towards London, a messenger from the parliament apprehended Mr. Mountague, and carried him a prisoner to the houses;[2] by whom he was committed to the Tower; and though the ambassador made a great show of resenting it, he never claimed him in such a manner as to procure his enlargement; which made men believe the cardinal liked well his confinement, and desired not he should be either at Oxford or Paris.

At the ambassador's first coming to Oxford, after general overtures, and declarations of the resolution of that crown, "to give his majesty all possible assistance for his reesta-

[1] The court passed this judgment, because they were so egregiously disappointed in what they so foolishly expected, that the *king of France would assist Charles bona fide in such a manner as Charles himself should propose;* i. e. fight his battles for him.—W.

[2] This is highly probable from the character of Mountague, very forward in business, and a kind of favourite of the queen mother, and so the object of Mazarine's jealousy.---W.

blishment," he proposed a league offensive and defensive, with the king. His majesty, that knew well such an offer was not to be rejected, lest they should from thence take an occasion to refuse those things he should propose, appointed a committee of his council (according to the usual course) to treat with the ambassador, upon all necessary articles, which should attend such a treaty; declaring an inclination to enter into such a league as was proposed; and thereupon desired "a present loan of money, and a supply of a good proportion of arms and ammunition; and likewise that the crown of France would declare against his subjects of England and Scotland, who would persist in rebellion; according to an article ratified in the last treaty of the league now in force."

The ambassador, who, it seems, expected that there should have been more pauses in the overture of the league offensive and defensive, for the present declined the treating with the committee; alleging, "that he was, upon the matter, a minister of both their majesties; and was to receive command from them, and wholly to attend their service; and therefore that he desired wholly to communicate with their majesties themselves:" and shortly after waved any further mention of the league, with a French compliment, "that it would not appear a generous thing, to press the king to any act in this his distress, which he had made scruple of consenting to heretofore, when the fortune of both crowns were equally prosperous: but that his master and mistress would frankly contribute all that could be reasonably expected from them, towards his majesty's restoration and establishment; and afterwards expect such a return of affection from his majesty, as the greatness of the obligation should merit in his princely estimation." And at the same time, the queen regent and cardinal positively denied to the lord Goring, ambassador extraordinary then from his majesty in France, that ever the count of Harcourt had any instruction to mention a league offensive and defensive. These particular carriages, and his not resenting the indignities offered to him by the parliament, made many men believe, that this ambassador, notwithstanding all the specious professions,

was sent rather to foment, than extinguish, the fire that was kindled. Certain it is, during his stay in England, he did not, in the least degree, advance the king's service; and, at his return, left the parliament more united amongst themselves against the king, and the Scots more advanced towards their coming in, than he found them; there being at the same time likewise a French agent in Scotland; who produced no alteration in the affections of that people, to the king's advantage.

I must not here forget one accident, which no doubt (how much soever neglected then) contributed exceedingly to the union at London; the return of the earl of Holland to the parliament. After his first coming to Oxford, when he had kissed the king and queen's hands, he and the other two lords, who came together, the earl of Bedford and the earl of Clare, attended the king in the army, and at the battle of Newbury charged with prince Rupert in his troop. When the king retired to Oxford, the earl of Holland applied himself to both their majesties, and had a fair reception and admission to speak with the king in private when he desired. Whether he had received any private invitation and promise of being restored to the place he formerly had in their majesties' favours, and his old condition in court, I know not; but after a short stay in and about Oxford, and when he found the eyes of the court moved not towards him, as they had done, though the queen was gracious to him, and the king always content to hear what he would say, and when he saw his place in the bedchamber conferred upon the marquis of Hertford, in much discontent, found an opportunity, which was not difficult, to remove out of the king's quarters; and before he was missed at Oxford, intelligence was brought that he had rendered himself to the parliament at London; and to make his return the more conscientious, he declared, "that the ground of his deserting them formerly, and going to the king, was a hope to incline his majesty to a treaty of peace; but that he found he was mistaken in the temper of the Oxford councils; and that the king had still about him some counsellors, who would never consent to a safe and well-grounded peace; and that he heard they had persuaded

the king to make a cessation with the rebels in Ireland; which affected his conscience so much, that, though he had been sure to have lost his life by it, he would return to the parliament;" professing exemplary fidelity to them, if they would again receive him into their favour.

It may be, his discourse of Ireland, or the king's averseness to peace, wrought upon very few; but the evidence of the king's aversion so far to forgive and forget former trespasses,[1] as to receive them into favour and trust again, made a deep impression upon many. For it is undoubtedly true, that many of the principal and governing members of both houses, that is, of them who had governed, and done as much mischief as any, either out of apprehension that the king would prevail, or that they should not prevail soon enough, or the animosity against those who had outgrown their government, and followed new leaders of their own, and to other ends than had been originally proposed, or out of some motions of conscience, were quite weary of the parliament, and desirous to obtain a fair admission to the king; and looked only upon the footing which those doves, which went first out of the ark, should find; and surely, if that expedient had been dexterously managed, it had been the most probable way to have drawn the parliament into such contempt, that it must have fallen of itself: and it is a way, that in no civil war, which is arrived to any vigour and power of contending, ought to be declined. For a body, that is not formed by policy, with any avowed and fixed principles of government, but by the distempered affections, ambition, and discontent of particular persons, who rather agree against a common adversary, than are united to one just interest, cannot so easily be dissolved, as by tempering with particular persons, and rending those branches from the trunk, whose beauty and advantage consists only in the spreading.

And the reasons were unanswerable, which the old con-

[1] Something or other is always dropping from the noble historian, which would persuade one to think, that the heads of the parliament party were excusable in thinking that the king would take his revenge on them if he could.—W.

sul Fabius in Livy, lib. 24. gave, in the case of Cassius Altinius, who, after the defeat of Cannæ, deserted the Romans, and fled to Hannibal, by which he got the city of Arpos; and when the condition of the Romans was again recovered and flourishing, came again to the Roman army, and offered to betray that city into their hands. Many were of opinion, "that he should be looked upon as a common enemy; and bound, and sent to Hannibal, as a perfidious person, who knew neither how to be a friend, nor an enemy." Fabius reprehended the unseasonable severity of those who considered, and judged *in medio ardore belli, tanquam in pace libera*, and told them, "that their principal care must be, that none of their friends and allies might forsake them; the next, that they who had forsaken them, might return again into their obedience and protection: for, *si abire a Romanis liceat, redire ad eos non liceat*, it could not be, but the state of Rome, from whom, in the late misfortunes, many had revolted, must become very desperate."

Such was the king's condition, the number of the guilty being so much superior to the innocent, that the latter could reasonably expect only to be preserved by the conversion and reduction of the former. Neither did the king not foresee, or abhor this expedient; but the temper and spirit of the time was so averse from the stratagem, that it was evident his present loss would be as great, by practising it, as his future advantage was like to improve by it. And whatever damage his majesty sustained, that unfortunate earl received no acknowledgment, or encouragement from the other party, who had the benefit of his return; but as his estate was sequestered as soon as he left them, so he was now committed to prison, and that sequestration continued; neither was it, in a long time after, taken off, nor himself ever after admitted to his place in their council, notwithstanding all the intercession of very powerful friends, or to any reputation of doing further good or hurt.

And verily, there must be thought to be some dislike, in the very primary law of nature, of such tergiversation and inconstancy; since we scarce find, in any story, a deserter of a trust or party, he once adhered to, to be long prosperous, or in any eminent estimation with those to whom he resorts;

though, in the change, there may appear evident arguments of reason and justice; neither hath it been in the power or prerogative of any authority, to preserve such men from the reproach, and jealousy, and scandal, that naturally attends upon any defection: *I have not found evil in thee, since the day of thy coming unto me, unto this day; nevertheless, the lords favour thee not*, was the profession of king Achish, when he dismissed David himself from marching with the army of the Philistines; and that expostulation of those lords, *wherewith should he reconcile himself unto his master? should it not be with the heads of these men?* will be always an argumentation to raise a distrust of those who have eminently quitted their party: and the judgment of Fabius himself, which we touched before, of Cassius Altinius, was not much in their favour; for though he reprehended the proposition of sending him to Hannibal, yet he concluded, "that he would have no trust reposed in him, but that he should be kept in safe custody, with liberty to do any thing but go away, till the war was ended; *tum consultandum, utrum defectio prior plus merita sit pœnæ, an hic reditus veniæ.*" And as it fares in civil affairs, and the breach of moral obligations, so it happens in spiritual defections, and alterations in religion: for as, among the Jews, the proselytes were civilly and charitably treated, without upbraidings or reproaches; yet it was provided, "that no proselyte should be eligible into the court of their sanhedrim;" and in their very conversation, they had a caution of them: *Vel ad decimam usque generationem a proselytis cave*, was an aphorism amongst them. So our observation and experience can give us few examples of men who have changed their religion, and not fallen into some jealousy and distrust, or disreputation, even with those with whom they side; that have made their future life less pleasant and delightsome; which, it may be, is only because we have rare instances of men of extraordinary parts, or great minds, who have entertained those conversions.

The earl of Northumberland was now returned to London from his house at Petworth in Sussex, (where he had resided from the time the other lords left the house, till after the battle of Newbury, in expectation of overtures from Oxford,)

and incorporated again into their counsels; and they who had before been very solicitous for peace, laid aside all thoughts towards it. The lords and commons were all now of a mind, and no other contention amongst them, than who should most advance the power which was to suppress the king's: new and stricter orders were made for the general taking the covenant; and an ordinance, "that no man should be in any office or trust in their armies, or the kingdom, or of the common council of London, or should have a voice in the election of those officers, but such who had taken the covenant; nor even they who had taken the covenant, if they had been formerly imprisoned, or sequestered for suspicion of malignancy, or adhering to the king." And that they might as well provide for their sovereign jurisdiction in civil matters, as their security in martial, they again resumed the consideration of the great seal of England. The commons had often pressed the house of peers to concur with them, "in the making a new great seal; as the proper remedy against those mischiefs, which, by the absence of it, had befallen the commonwealth;" declaring, "that the great seal of England, of right, ought to attend upon the parliament;" in which the peers as often refused to join with them, being startled at the statute of the 25th of Edward III.[1] by which, the counterfeiting the great seal of England is, in express terms, declared to be high treason; and it had been in all times before understood to be the sole property of the king, and not of the kingdom, and absolutely in the king's own disposal, where it should be kept, or where it should attend.

This dissent of the lords hindered not the business; the commons frankly voted, "that a seal should be provided," and accordingly took order that one was engraven, and brought into their house, according to the same size and effigies, and nothing different from that which the king used at Oxford. Being in this readiness, and observing the lords to be less scrupulous than they had been, about the middle of November, they sent again to them, to let them know, "they had a great seal ready, which should be put into the

[1] This statute evidently relates only to particular private men.—W.

custody of such persons as the two houses should appoint; and if they would name some peers, a proportionable number of the other body should join in the executing that trust." All objections were now answered, and without any hesitation their lordships not only concurred with them to have a seal in their own disposal, but in a declaration and ordinance; by which they declared, "all letters patents, and grants made by the king, and passed the great seal of England, after the 22d of May in the year 1642, (which was the day the lord keeper left the house, and went with the great seal to York to the king,) to be invalid, and void in law; and henceforward, that their own great seal should be of the like force, power, and validity, to all intents and purposes, as any great seal of England had been, or ought to be; and that whosoever, after publication of that ordinance, should pass any thing under any other great seal, or should claim any thing thereby, should be held and adjudged a public enemy to the state."

At the same time, the earls of Rutland and Bullingbrook, of the peers, Mr. Saint-John, (whom they still entitled the king's solicitor general, though his majesty had revoked his patent, and conferred that office upon sir Thomas Gardner; who had served him faithfully, and been put out of his recorder's place of London, for having so done,) sergeant Wild, (who, being a sergeant at law, had with most confidence averred their legal power to make a seal,) Mr. Brown, and Mr. Prideaux, two private practisers of the law, were nominated "to have the keeping, ordering, and disposing of it, and all such, and the like power and authority, as any lord chancellor, or lord keeper, or commissioner of the great seal, for the time being, had had, used, or ought to have." The earl of Rutland was so modest, as to think himself not sufficiently qualified for such a trust; and therefore excused himself in point of conscience: whereupon they nominated, in his room, the earl of Kent, a man of far meaner parts, who readily accepted the place.

The seal then was delivered, in the house of commons, to their speaker; and by him, with much solemnity, the house attending him, to the speaker of the peers, at the bar in that

house. The six commissioners were then, in the presence of both houses, solemnly sworn "to execute the office of keepers of the great seal of England, in all things according to the orders and directions of both houses of parliament." And thereupon the seal was delivered by the two speakers to them, who carried it, according to order, to the house of the clerk of the parliament, in the old palace; where it was kept locked up in a chest; which could not be opened but in the presence of three of them, and with three several keys. This work being over, they appointed, for the first exercise of this kind of sovereignty, a patent to be sealed to the earl of Warwick, of lord high admiral of England; which was done accordingly; by which many concluded, that the earl of Northumberland, who had been put out of that great office for their sakes, was not restored to their full confidence; others, that he desired not to wear their livery.

About the same time, to shew that they would be absolute, and not joint sharers in the sovereign power, they gave an instance of boldness mingled with cruelty, that made them appear very terrible. The king had published several proclamations, for the adjournment of the term from London to Oxford, which had been hitherto fruitless, for want of the necessary legal form of having the writs read in court; so that the judges, who were ready to perform their duty, could not regularly keep the courts at Oxford; which else they would have done, notwithstanding the order and declarations published by the two houses to the contrary; they who were learned in the law believing that assumption to be unquestionably out of their jurisdiction. These writs of adjournment had never yet been delivered seasonably, to be read in court, or into the hands of either of the sworn judges, who yet attended at Westminster; of which there were three in number, justice Bacon in the king's bench, justice Reeve in the common pleas, and baron Trevor in the exchequer; who, how timorous soever, and apprehensive of the power and severity of the parliament, knowing the law and their duties, men believed, would not have barefaced declined the execution of those commands they were sworn to observe. Several messengers were therefore sent from Oxford

with those writs; and appointed, on or before such a day, (for that circumstance was penal,) "to find an opportunity to deliver the writs into the hands of the several judges." Two of them performed their charges, and delivered the writs to justice Reeve, and baron Trevor; who immediately caused the messengers to be apprehended.

And the houses, being informed of it, gave direction, "that they should be tried by a council of war, as spies;" which was done at Essex-house.[1] The messengers alleged, "that they were sworn servants to his majesty for the transaction of those services, for which they were now accused; and that they had been legally punishable, if they had refused to do their duties; the term being to be adjourned by no other way." Notwithstanding all which, they were both condemned to be hanged as spies; and that such a sentence might not be thought to be only *in terrorem*, the two poor men were, within few days after, carried to the old Exchange, where a gallows was purposely set up; and there one of them, one Daniel Kniveton, was without mercy executed; dying with another kind of courage than could be expected from a man of such condition and education, did not the conscience of being innocent beget a marvellous satisfaction in any condition. The other, after he had stood some time upon, or under the gallows, looking for the same conclusion, was reprieved, and sent to Bridewell; where he was kept long after, till he made an escape, and returned again to Oxford. This example begot great terror in all the well affected about London, and so much the more, because, about the same time, an ordinance was made, "that whosoever went to Oxford, or into any of the king's quarters, without leave from one of the houses, or a pass from their general, or whosoever had any correspondence with any person in the king's quarters, by writing letters, or receiving letters from thence, should be proceeded against as a person disaf-

[1] I can see no injustice in this, after what had passed between the two houses. The king might with equal sense have sent one of his messengers to take the parliament general into custody, who, by the old rules of law, was guilty of high treason, as send a messenger with his writs into a town of war in arms against him.—W.

fected to the state; and his person committed, and his estate sequestered; and should be liable, according to the circumstances, (of which themselves would be only judges,) to be tried as spies."

As this made them exceeding terrible to those who loved them not, so, about the same time, they gave another instance of severity, which rendered their government no less reverenced amongst their friends and associates. The brave defence of Gloucester, and the great success that attended it, made the loss of Bristol the more felt; and consequently the delivery, and yielding it up, the more liberally spoken of, and censured. The which colonel Fiennes having not patience to bear, he desired, being a member of the house of commons, and of a swaying interest there, "that he might be put to give an account of it at a court of war, which was the proper judicature upon trespasses of that nature." And in the mean time, he was powerful enough, upon some collateral and circumstantial passages, to procure some of the chief who inveighed against him, to be imprisoned and reprehended. This begat greater passion and animosity in the persons, that thought they suffered unjustly, and only by the authority and interest of the colonel and his father; which, by degrees, brought faction into the house of commons, and the army, according to the several affections and tempers of men.

There were but two prosecutors appeared, one Mr. Walker,[1] a gentleman of Somersetshire, of a good fortune, and, by the loss of that, the more provoked; who had been in the town when it was lost, and had strictly observed all that was done, or said; and the famous Mr. Pryn, who had at first let himself into the disquisition of that business, out of the activity and restlessness of his nature, and was afterwards sharpened by contempt. These two, under pretence of zeal to the kingdom, and that such an irreparable damage to it might not pass away without due punishment, undertook the prosecution; and boldly charged the colonel with

[1] Clement Walker, author of The System of Independency; a famous libel on that faction.—W.

cowardice and treachery; and gave several instances of great and high professions, and performances faint, and not answerable; with some mixtures of pride, and love of money, throughout the course of his government. Colonel Fiennes, besides the credit and reputation of his father, had a very good stock of estimation in the house of commons upon his own score; for truly he had very good parts of learning and nature, and was privy to, and a great manager in, the most secret designs from the beginning; and if he had not incumbered himself with command in the army,[1] to which men thought his nature not so well disposed, he had sure been second to none in those councils, after Mr. Hambden's death. This made him too much despise those who appeared his adversaries, and others whom he knew to be such, though they appeared not, (for he looked upon sir William Waller as an enemy, whose misfortune at Roundway-down, having brought that storm upon Bristol, was industrious to make the second loss to be apprehended only as the effect of the other's want of courage and conduct,) and being sure, that he was very free from wishing well to the king, he thought no defect would be further imputed to him, than might well be answered by the having done his best; and that the eminency of his perfect zeal against his majesty would weigh down all objections of disservice to the parliament.

But notwithstanding all this, after a long and solemn hearing before the court of war, at St. Alban's, where the earl of Essex then lay, which took up many days, he was condemned to lose his head, "for not having defended Bristol so well, and so long, as he ought to have done." And though he had afterwards a pardon for his life, granted to him by the prerogative of the general, under his hand and seal, yet the infamy of the judgment could not be taken off; by which he became unfit to continue an officer of the army; and the shame of it persuaded him to quit the kingdom;[2] so

[1] He committed the very same blunder then that lord George Sackvill did of late.—W.

[2] Prince Rupert afterwards defended Bristol in the same unac-

that he went for some time into foreign parts, retaining still the same full disaffection to the government of the church and state, and only grieved that he had a less capacity left to do hurt to either. Many looked upon this example as a foundation of great awe and reverence in the army, that the officers might see, that no titles or relations should be able to break through the strict discipline of war. For this gentleman was a person of singular merit, and fidelity to the party that he served, and of extraordinary use to them in those counsels that required the best understandings. Others thought it an act of unadvised severity, to expose so eminent a person, who knew all their intrigues, upon the importunity of useless and inconsiderable persons, to infamy; whilst others considered it as a judgment of Heaven[1] upon a man who had been so forward in promoting the public calamities: and no doubt, it increased much the factions and animosities, both in the parliament and the army; and might have done them further mischief, if it had not fallen on a man so thoroughly engaged, that no provocations could make him less of their party, or less concerned in their confederacy.

Nothing troubled the king so much, as the intelligence he received from Scotland, that they had already formed their army, and resolved to enter England in the winter season. All his confidence, which he had founded there upon the faith and most solemn professions of particular men, without whom the nation could not have been corrupted, had deceived him to a man; and he found the same men most engaged against him, who had, with most solemnity, vowed all obedience to him. And the circumstance of the time made the danger of the invasion the more formidable; for the earl of Newcastle, who was lately created a marquis, had been compelled with his army, as much by the murmurs and indisposition of the officers, as by the season of the year, to

countable manner, who certainly wanted not courage; and this obliged him likewise to *depatriate*.—W.

[1] This great historian is always too free with his judgments. But the piety is more eminent than the superstition in this great man's foibles.--W.

quit his design upon Hull, and to retire to York; and the garrison at Hull had made many strong infalls into the country, and defeated some of his troops; so that the Scots were like to find a strong party in that large county. However, the marquis sent a good body of horse towards the borders, to wait their motion; and no sooner heard of their march, which begun in January, in a great frost and snow, than himself marched into the bishopric of Durham to attend them. The particulars of all that affair, and the whole transaction of the northern parts, where the chancellor of the exchequer was never present, nor had any part in those counsels, are fit for another kind of account, and are foreign to this discourse. In these straits, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed two expedients to the king, which the king liked well, and wished they might both be consulted in the council. The one was, "that all the peers who were then in Oxford, or in the king's service, might subscribe a letter to the council of state in Scotland; whereby it would appear, by the subscription, that above five parts of six of the whole nobility, and house of peers, were in the king's service, and disavowed all those actions which were done against him, by the pretended authority of the two houses; which possibly might make some impression upon the nation of Scotland, though it was well enough known to their seducers." The chancellor was appointed to prepare the letter, which he did, expressing therein "the foulness of the rebellion in England, under the reputation of the houses of parliament, and the carrying on the same, when they had driven away, by force, much the major part of the members of both houses, and expressly against all the laws of the land:" it put them in mind of "their obligation to the king," and pathetically concluded with "conjuring them to desist from their unjust and unwarrantable purpose; in such a manner, and in those words as are contained in the letter that was then printed, and remains in many hands." The letter was perused, and debated in the council, and afterwards in the presence of all the peers; and being generally approved without any dissenting voice, it was ordered to be engrossed, and signed by all those peers, and privy-counsellors, who were then in Ox-

ford, and to be sent to those who were absent in any of the armies, or in the king's quarters, and to be then sent to the marquis of Newcastle; who, after he had signed it, with those peers who were in those parts, was to transmit it into Scotland by a trumpet; all which was done accordingly.

Of all the peers who followed the king, there was only one who refused to sign this letter. The earl of Leicester was in Oxford, and had been once in council, when the letter was consulted; and when the clerk of the council carried it (according to his office) to him to be signed, he wished him to leave it there for his perusal, and he would consider of it; and the next day calling to him again, he gave the same answer, that he would further consider of it. Whereupon it was whispered in the court, that he would not put his hand to it, which they who loved him not (which were many of the lords) were glad of; and the more, because the king had it in his purpose to give him some preferment in lieu of the lieutenantship of Ireland, which he thought fit at that time to take from him, and had conferred it upon the marquis of Ormond, who had the command of the army in that kingdom. The chancellor of the exchequer had much kindness for the earl of Leicester, and went to him, and took notice of what was reported about the court; and desired him not to give those who had an evil eye towards him so great an advantage to do him hurt, as his refusal to sign this letter, and so declaring himself to be of a different judgment, if not different affection, from all the counsellors, and all the peers who followed the king, would do; that he had some reason to believe that both the king and the queen had at present some gracious intentions towards him, which he would make himself incapable of, by such an unseasonable contradiction. The reasons he gave why he had forborne to sign it (for he had not yet refused) were not equal to his own reason, which, when uncorrupted by his passion, was very good: that he had been only once present when the design of that letter was consulted, but had not been present when the letter itself was brought to the board, (which he might and ought to have been,) nor had ever seen it, till it was brought to him to be signed: that

there were some matters of fact mentioned in it, which, though he believed, he did not know to be true, and some such other exceptions, as were too weak to puzzle his understanding; so that the chancellor did believe what he wished, that he would have signed it; but whether he had not yet digested his late deposal from the lieutenancy of Ireland, to which the marquis of Ormond was deputed, and thought the disobligation of it not capable of a reparation, or whether he thought the king's fortune desperate, and resolved not to sacrifice himself to any popular displeasure, and not to provoke the parliament further than by not concurring with them; or whether he had it then in his purpose to be found in their quarters, as shortly after he was, did in the end positively refuse to subscribe the letter; and thereby was the occasion of a mischief he did not intend. For both their majesties, in their secret purpose, had designed him to succeed the marquis of Hertford in the government of the prince; for which he would have been very proper; but upon this so affected a discovery of a nature, and mind, liable to no kind of compliance, the king could not prosecute his purpose; and so the government of that hopeful and excellent prince was committed to the earl of Berkshire, for no other reason but because he had a mind to it, and his importunity was very troublesome: a man of any who bore the name of a gentleman, the most unfit for that province, or any other that required any proportion of wisdom and understanding for the discharge of it.

But it was the unhappy temper of the court at that time, to think that it was no matter who was employed in that office; for the king nor queen were not at all deceived, nor was the earl less fit than they thought him to be; but they thought his want of parts (his fidelity there was no cause to suspect) to be of little importance: and the chancellor,[1] much trusted, speaking at that time with the lord Jermyn, "how astonishing a thing it was to all the nation, to see the prince committed to such a governor," he smiled, according to his custom, when he could not answer;[2] and said, "it was of

[1] The historian himself.---W.

[2] An admirable picture of a hackneyed courtier.---W.

no moment, who had the name and style of governor, since the king and queen meant to be his governor, and firmly resolved that he should never be out of their presence, or of one of them :" when, within little more than a year after, the king found it necessary to sever the prince from him, and lived not to see him again : and he then found, and lamented, that he had deputed such a governor over him.

The other expedient proposed by the chancellor was, " that since the whole kingdom was misled by the reverence they had to parliament, and believed[1] that the laws and liberties of the people could not be otherwise preserved, than by their authority, and that it appeared to be to no purpose to persuade men that what they did was against law, when they were persuaded that their very doing it made it lawful,[2] it would be therefore necessary, and could be only effectual to convince them, that they who did those monstrous things were not the parliament, but a handful of desperate persons, who, by the help of the tumults raised in the city of London, had driven away the major part of the parliament, and called themselves the parliament, who were, in truth, much the less, and the least considerable part of it; which would appear manifestly, if the king would issue out a proclamation, to require all the members who had left the parliament at Westminster, to repair to Oxford by such a day ; where his majesty would be willing to advise with them in matters of the greatest importance, concerning the peace, and distractions of the kingdom : and by this means he might, in many things, serve himself by their assistance, and it would evidently appear by the number of both houses, whose names would be quickly known and published, how few remained at Westminster, who carried on the devouring war, so grievous to the whole kingdom."

The king was at first in some apprehension, that such a

[1] Experience taught them to *believe* so.—W.

[2] It was no wonder, that they who saw the parliament through two reigns stem the torrent of unlawful power, should be hardly brought to believe a parliament could act against law.—W.

conflux of persons together of the parliament, who would look to enjoy the privileges of it in their debates, might, instead of doing him service, do many things contrary to it, and exceedingly apprehended, that they would immediately enter upon some treaty of peace, which would have no effect; yet, whilst it was in suspense, would hinder his preparation for the war; and though nobody more desired peace, yet he had no mind that a multitude should be consulted upon the conditions of it: imagining, that things of the greatest importance, as the giving up persons, and other particulars of honour, would not seem to them of moment enough to continue a war in the kingdom; which would have been true, if, as hath been said before, the governors of the parliament had not themselves been too fearful of a peace,[1] to trust any to make politic propositions, which, upon refusal, might have done good, but being consented to had undone them, and frustrated all their designs.

The council seemed much inclined to the expedient, and many conveniences were in view; and it might be reasonably hoped, and presumed, "that persons, who had that duty to obey his majesty's summons, in coming thither, which would be none but such as had already absented themselves from Westminster, and thereby incensed those who remained there, would not bring ill and troublesome humours with them, to disturb that service which could only preserve them: but, on the contrary, would unite, and conspire together, to make the king superior to his and their enemies. And as to the advancing any propositions of peace, which there could be no doubt but they would be inclined to, nor would it be fit for his majesty to oppose, there could be no inconvenience; since their appearing in it would but draw reproach from those at Westminster, who would never give them any answer, or look upon them under any notion, but as private persons, and deserters of the parliament, without

[1] This shews what has been so often observed, that neither one nor the other party desired such a peace as was good for the *whole*, but for themselves respectively. The king was not for having his power reduced to proper bounds, and the parliament was for altering the constitution.—W.

any qualification to treat, or to be treated with: which would more provoke those at Oxford, and, by degrees, stir up more animosities between them." And the king discovered more of hope than fear from such a convention; and so, with a very unanimous consent and approbation, a proclamation was issued out, containing the true grounds and motives, and mentioning the league of Scotland to invade the kingdom; which was the most universally odious and detestable; and summoned all the members of both houses of parliament, except only such who, having command in his majesty's armies in the north, and in the west, could not be dispensed with, to be absent from their charges, to attend upon his majesty in Oxford, upon a day fixed in January next.

The king was not all this while without a due sense of the dangers that threatened him in the growth and improvement of the power and strength of the enemy, and how impossible it would be for him, without some more extraordinary assistance, to resist that torrent, which, he foresaw, by the next spring, would be ready to overwhelm him, if he made not provision accordingly. When he saw therefore, that it was not in his power to compose the distractions of England, or to prevent those in Scotland, and abhorring the thought of introducing a foreign nation to subdue his own subjects,[1] he began to think of any expedients which might allay the distempers in Ireland; that so, having one of his kingdoms in peace, he might apply the power of that, towards the procuring it in his other dominions. He was not ignorant, how tender an argument that business of Ireland was, and how prepared men were to pervert whatsoever he said or did in it; and therefore he resolved to proceed with that caution, that whatsoever was done in it should be by the counsel of that state, who were understood to be most skilful in those affairs.

[1] How could the historian say this, when at p. 1607 he had told us, that *the king hoped that France would really assist his majesty* (in case the ambassador could do nothing with the parliament by gentle means) *in such manner as he should propose*? And why should the historian disguise this, since the seeking for foreign assistance in a just quarrel was right policy?—W.

The lords justices, and council, had sent a short petition to his majesty,[1] which was presented to them, in the name of his catholic subjects, then in arms against him; by which they only desired, with full expressions of duty and submission to his majesty, "that he would appoint some persons to hear what they could say for themselves; and to present the same to his majesty." Hereupon the king authorized by his commission the lord marquis of Ormond, and some others, to receive what they were ready to offer, but without the least authority to conclude any thing with them upon it. And after the receipt of this commission, the marquis, finding that this petition was prosecuted with less ingenuity than it seemed to have been presented, was so far from being indulgent to them under that notion, that he even then advanced against them with his army, and gave them a very signal defeat; which reformed their application, and made it more submiss.

In the mean time (though in all actions and counsels, the lords justices, and council there, had yielded punctual obedience to all directions from the parliament) the affairs of that kingdom suffered exceedingly for want of provisions, money, and ammunition, out of England; which the two houses of parliament were obliged, and were, to that purpose, enabled by his majesty to send. Insomuch as that board, by their letters of the fourth of April, this present year, advertised the speaker of the house of commons, "that they had been compelled, for the preservation of the army, to take money from all who had it, and to wrest their commodities from the poor merchants, whom they had now, by the law of necessity, utterly undone, and disabled from being hereafter helpful to them, in bringing them in victuals, or other need-

[1] I see no reason why the king might not apply his rebellious catholic subjects in Ireland to his own purpose; as well as the parliament apply his rebellious puritan subjects of Scotland to theirs. The terms under which both these several applications were made, having only this difference apparently to the advantage of the king; the papists only demanded a toleration under the established church; the puritans required (and it was granted them) an establishment of their discipline to the destruction of the national church.---W.

ful commodities: and that there were few of themselves, or others, that had not felt their parts in the enforced rigour of their proceedings, so as, what with such hard dealing, no less grievous to them to do, than it was heavy to others to suffer, and by their descending, against their hearts, far below the honour and dignity of that power they represented under his royal majesty, they had, with unspeakable difficulties, prevailed so as to be able to find bread for the soldiers for the space of one month: that they were then expelling thence all strangers, and must instantly send away for England thousands of poor despoiled English, whose very eating was now insupportable to that place; and therefore, they said, they did again earnestly and finally desire (for their confusions would not now admit the writing of many more letters, if any) some supplies of victual and ammunition might, in present, be hastened thither to keep life, until the rest might follow; there being no victuals in store; nor one hundred barrels of powder; which, according to the usual necessary expenses, besides extraordinary accidents, would not last above a month."

A copy of this letter they likewise sent to Mr. Secretary Nicholas, that his majesty might be informed of the sadness of their condition, and, with it, a copy of a paper that morning presented to the board (which was likewise sent in their letter to the speaker) from the officers of the army; who, after sharp expressions of the miseries they sustained, and expostulations thereupon, concluded, "that if their lordships would take them into their timely considerations, before their urgent wants made them desperate, they would serve them readily and faithfully; but if their lordships would not find a way for their preservations there, they humbly desired they might have leave to go where they might have a better being; and if they refused to grant that, they themselves must then take leave to have recourse to that first and primary law, which God had endued all men with, the law of nature, which taught all men to preserve themselves."

The king was exceedingly perplexed at the receipt of this advertisement; apprehending the state of his protestant subjects in that kingdom to be almost desperate, the rebels re-

ceiving daily encouragement and assistance from foreign parts; and thereupon growing strong and bold; yet he forbore to interpose his own sovereign power, hoping this last clear representation would have made so deep an impression in the two houses of parliament, that they would have sent such a full supply, that at least the rebels might make no further progress in victory, against his protestant subjects. About the end of May, the lords justices and council, having received no probable hope of assistance from the parliament, sent an address immediately to his majesty, that himself might conclude, in that exigent, what was to be done for preservation of one of his three kingdoms. This letter, subscribed by the lords justices, and every member of the council-board, being the ground and foundation of the resolutions which his majesty afterwards took, I think necessary in this place to insert in the terms of which it consisted; which were these:

"May it please[1] your most excellent majesty:

"As soon as we your majesty's justices entered into the charge of this government, we took into our considerations, at the board, the state of your army here; which we find suffering under unspeakable extremity of want of all things necessary to the support of their persons, or maintenance of the war, here being no victuals, clothes or other provisions requisite towards their sustenance; no money to provide them of any thing they want; no arms in your majesty's stores to supply their many defective arms; not above forty barrels of powder in your stores; no strength of serviceable horses being now left here; and those few that are, their arms for the most part lost, or unserviceable; no ships arrived here to guard the coast, and consequently no security rendered to any that might, on their private adventures, bring in provisions of victuals, or other necessaries towards our subsistence; and, finally, no visible means, by sea or land, of being able to preserve for you this kingdom, and to render deliverance from utter destruction to the remnant of your good subjects left here.

[1] *In the handwriting of lord Clarendon's amanuensis.*

"We find, that your majesty's late justices, and this board, have often, and fully, by very many letters, advertised the parliament in England of the extremities of affairs here, and besought relief with all possible importunity; which also have been fully represented to your majesty, and to the lord lieutenant, and Mr. Secretary Nicholas, to be made known to your majesty: and although the winds have of late for many days, and often formerly, stood very fair for accessions of supply forth of England hither, and that we have still, with longing expectations, hoped to find provisions arrive here, in some degree answerable to the necessities of your affairs; yet now, to our unspeakable grief, after full six months waiting, and much longer patience, and long suffering, we find all our great expectations answered in a mean and inconsiderable quantity of provisions, viz. threescore and fifteen barrels of butter, and fourteen ton of cheese; being but the fourth part of a small vessel's lading, which was sent from London, and arrived here the fifth day of this month, which is not above seven or eight days' provision, for that part of the army which lies in Dublin, and the out-garrisons thereof; no money or victual (other than that inconsiderable proportion of victual) having arrived in this place, as sent from the parliament of England, or from any other port of England, for the use of the army, since the beginning of November last.

"We have, by the blessing of God, been hitherto prosperous and successful in your majesty's affairs here, and should be still hopeful, by the mercy of God, under the royal directions of your sacred majesty, to vindicate your majesty's honour, to recover your rights here, and take due vengeance on those traitors, for the innocent blood they have spilled, if we might be strengthened, and supported therein, by needful supplies forth of England; but these supplies having been hitherto expected to come from the parliament of England, (on which if your majesty had not relied, we are assured you would, in your high wisdom, have found out some other means to preserve this your kingdom,) and so great and apparent a failure having happened therein, and all the former, and late, long continuing

easterly winds, bringing us no other provisions than those few cheeses and butter, and no advertisements being brought us of any future supply to be so much as in the way hither, whereby there might be any likelihood that considerable means of support for your majesty's army might arrive here, in any reasonable time, before we be totally swallowed up by the rebels, and your kingdom by them wrested from you: we find ourselves so disappointed of our hopes from the parliament, as must needs trench to the utter loss of the kingdom, if your majesty, in your high wisdom, ordain not some present means of preservation for us. And considering that if now, by occasion of that unhappy and unexpected failing of support from thence, we shall be less successful in your services here against the rebels, than hitherto, whilst we were enabled with some means to serve you, we have been, the shame and dishonour may, in common construction of those that know not the inwards of the cause, be imputed to us, and not to the failings that disabled us: and considering principally, and above all things, the high and eminent trust of your affairs here, deposited with us by your sacred majesty, we may not forbear, in discharge of our duty, thus freely and plainly to declare our humble apprehensions, to the end your majesty, thus truly understanding the terribleness of our condition, may find out some such means of support, to preserve to your majesty and your royal posterity this your ancient and rightful crown and kingdom; and derive deliverance and safety to the remnant of your good subjects yet left here, as in your excellent judgment you shall find to be most for your honour and advantage. And so praying the King of kings to guide and direct you for the best, in this high and important cause, and in all other your counsels and actions, we humbly remain:

"*From your majesty's castle of Dublin,*
the 11th of May, 1643."

There was no sober man in Ireland or England, who believed it to be in the king's power to enable this people to carry on the war; for all men too well knew, that he had

neither money, victual, ammunition, or shipping, to supply them: and therefore his majesty could not but conclude, that, by this application of that state to him, they hoped he would endeavour to extinguish that war which he could not maintain. And it is very true, that, at the same time with this letter, he received advice and information, from some of his prime ministers of that kingdom, who were well known, and acknowledged, perfectly to abhor the rebellion, "that there was no reasonable hope of preserving his protestant subjects, and his own interest in that kingdom, but by treating with the rebels, and making a peace, or truce, with them." The king well foresaw to what reproaches he should object himself, by entering into any treaty with those rebels; and that they who had persuaded many to believe, that he had given countenance to, if not fomented, the rebellion, against all human evidence that can be imagined, would more easily gain credit, when they should be able to say, that he had made a peace with them: besides that he had bound himself not to make a peace with the rebels in Ireland, without the consent of his two houses of parliament in England.[1] On the other side, nothing was more demonstrable, than that his protestant subjects there could not defend the little they had left, without extraordinary aid and assistance out of England; that it was impossible for him to send any to them, and as visible, that the parliament would not, or could not; so that it seemed only in his election, whether he would preserve the remainder of his protestant subjects there, and that whole kingdom, in dependence upon his crown, with the inconvenience of some perverse and unreasonable scandal; or suffer them to be rooted out; and undergo the perpetual obloquy of having lost a kingdom, when

[1] But in all reasonable construction, this could only mean while the parliament remained in legal subjection to him. On the whole, the king was perfectly free from blame throughout this whole Irish affair, from first to last, as a politician, and king, and governor of his people. But the necessity of his affairs obliging him at the same time to play the protestant saint and confessor, there was found much disagreement between his professions and declarations, and his actions in this matter.—W.

it was in his own power to have retained it within his subjection: and whatever he had obliged himself to, in those acts of parliament which he had passed for relief of Ireland, before any rebellion in England, was not, that there might never be a peace in Ireland, but that the two houses might co-operate with him, whereby the rebels might be reduced to those straits, that they might be compelled to submit to the performance of their duties: and that, instead of any such co-operation, the two houses refused to concur with him in any thing, and had employed those monies, which had been raised by those very acts, for the relief of Ireland, in the maintenance of the armies which had given his majesty battle in England, expressly contrary to the words of those acts; and therefore that his majesty might be reasonably disengaged from those covenants on his part.

Upon these considerations, after two months' delay, to see whether yet the parliament would take care of them, and having received fresh importunities, and advices from thence, about the end of July, the king writ to the lords justices in Ireland, "that they should issue out a commission, under the great seal of Ireland, to the marquis of Ormond, to treat and conclude a cessation of arms with the rebels, upon such articles and conditions as he should judge most reasonable; and during that cessation, that such agents as they should make choice of, should have access to his royal person, to present their own propositions for peace:" so careful was the king not to infringe that act of parliament, which many understood to be dissolved by themselves: there being no colourable clause in it, by which it was not in his majesty's own power to make a cessation; and the peace itself he respited in such a manner, that he might receive advice and concurrence from the parliament, if they would not decline any further consideration or care of that kingdom.

Hereupon the lord marquis of Ormond, being then only general of the horse there, entered upon a treaty with commissioners authorized by the council at Kilkenny; to whose jurisdiction the rebels had committed the whole government of their affairs; and articles of cessation being prepared for a year, and perused, and approved by the lords justices and

council, without whose advice the marquis would not proceed, and all the principal officers of the army having given it under their hands, being present likewise at the treaty, "that it was most necessary for the preservation of that kingdom, that a cessation should be made for a year, upon those articles and conditions; and the rebels undertaking to pay to his majesty's use, thirty thousand and eight hundred pounds sterling, within a short time; whereof fifteen thousand eight hundred pounds in ready money, and the other fifteen thousand pounds, one half in money, and the other half in good beefs, at thirty pounds the score;" a cessation of arms was concluded by the marquis; and published, with the articles and conditions, by the lords justices and council of Ireland, to begin on the fifteenth day of September, and to continue for the space of a whole year.

This cessation was no sooner known in England, but the two houses declared against it, with all the sharp glosses upon it to his majesty's dishonour that can be imagined; persuading the people, "that the rebels were now brought to their last gasp, and reduced to so terrible a famine, that, like cannibals, they eat one another, and must have been destroyed immediately, and utterly rooted out, if, by the popish counsels at court, the king had not been persuaded to consent to this cessation." It is one of the instances of the strange, fatal misunderstanding,[1] which possessed this time, that, notwithstanding all the caution the king used in meddling at all with the business of that kingdom from the time of the rebellion, and the clear discovery of all particular reasons, grounds, and counsels, when he found it necessary to interpose in it, the calumnies and slanders raised to his majesty's disservice and dishonour, made a more than ordinary impression upon the minds of men, and not only of vulgar-spirited people, but of those who resisted all other infusions and infection.[2] And posterity, no question, will inquire, from what rise or spring this disadvantage flowed; to

[1] A *misunderstanding* that had its birth from the king's long misgovernment.---W.

[2] This could only arise from the known bigotry of the queen, and her known absolute government over the will of her husband.---W.

which inquiry I can apply no other satisfaction, besides the disease of the time; which imputed all designs to designs upon religion, and whatsoever was done by papists, to the zeal of the queen on the behalf of her own religion; then that the chief managers, and conductors of their counsels, found it necessary to aver many things of fact upon their own knowledge, (by which they found the understanding of men liable to be captivated,) which in truth were not so: as I found by some sober men, at such times as there was occasion of intercourse, and conference with them, that they did, upon such assurance, believe that the king had done somewhat in that business of Ireland, (some having avowed, that they had seen his hand to such and such letters and instructions,) which, upon as much knowledge as any man can morally have of a negative, I am sure he never did.

I shall here insert, as the most natural and proper evidence of the state of Ireland, at the time of the cessation, and of the unanswerable motives which prevailed with the king to consent to it, two letters; the one, of expostulation from the two houses to the lords justices and council, which was received by them after the cessation agreed on, though seeming to be sent before; and the answer of that board thereunto; with the contents whereof, the king, nor any of his council attending on him, was not at all acquainted, till long after their delivery. The letters were in these words.

To our very good lords, the lords justices, and council, for the kingdom of Ireland.

" Our very good lords,

" The lords and commons[1] in parliament have commanded us to let you know, they have seen your letter of the tenth of June, directed to the speaker of the house of commons, accompanied with an act of state, in the preamble whereof is an expression to this effect; that your present difficulties are occasioned through the failure of the houses of parlia-

[1] *Both these letters are in the handwriting of lord Clarendon's amanuensis.*

ment in England, who undertook the charge of this war. This letter, and act of council, were sent by his majesty from Oxford; to whom they believe you have sent copies of both, and have just cause to suspect, that there is an impious design now on foot, to sell for nought the crying blood of many hundred thousands of British protestants, by a dishonourable, unsufferable peace with the rebels; and then to lay the blame and shame of this upon the parliament; a plot suitable to those counsels that have both projected and fomented this unparalleled rebellion: for those who contrived the powder treason, intended to lay it on the puritans. And although they cannot think your lordships intended to further this design by this expression, yet they have cause to believe, you have forgotten the present condition of this kingdom; the supplies they have sent thither of all sorts, even in the midst of their own wants: what relief going thither hath been taken away by sea and land, and by whom; and what discouragements have been given them in return: so that, as your lordships do truly observe the protestant party in that city desirous to contribute, in all things, towards preservation of that kingdom, and that all the opposition therein is from those of the popish party; so ought you justly to conclude, that the protestant party in this kingdom have contributed, and are still endeavouring to contribute, monies, ammunition, victuals, and other necessaries, for the saving of that kingdom: and that the popish and malignant party here, now in arms against the parliament and kingdom, have not assisted, in the least measure, this pious work; but, on the contrary, do hinder and oppose the same: neither should your lordships conceive, that only the charge of that war was referred to, and undertaken by, the parliament, as if their part was to be your bankers, only to provide money for you to spend, and were not to advise and direct the managing of the war; although an act of parliament hath invested them with that power; which they must assume and vindicate as the means to save that kingdom; and shall bring to condign punishment those there, who, in this conjuncture of affairs, have advised the commission to hear what

the rebels can say, or propound, for their own advantage; the letters to divest their committee of an authority given them by both houses; and that advised the late alteration of government there; as enemies to the weal of both kingdoms, and fautors of that rebellion. In the last place, we are forbidden to tell you, what supplies of money, victuals, ammunition, and other necessaries, are in good forwardness to be sent over, for the support of the officers and soldiers there, and by whose incessant care; lest they should seem to answer that scandal by excuse, which deserves an high resentment. This being all we have in command for the present, we bid your lordships farewell, and remain,

" Your lordships' friends to serve you,

" *Grey of Warke*,

" *Speaker of the house of peers* pro tempore;

" *William Lenthall*,

" *Speaker of the commons house in parliament.*

" The lords and commons will examine the demeanour of the ships appointed to guard those coasts; and might have expected a copy of Mountrose's letter to colonel Crawford, which came to your hands before the 10th of June; and, happily, would discover the treasons of the rebels, sent by your enemies to destroy you; as well as a complaint of those sea-captains, sent by your friends to defend you; whose neglects and misdeeds are notwithstanding to be punished, according as their demerits shall appear."

Westminster, the 4th of July, 1643.

To our very good lord, the lord speaker of the right honourable the lords house of parliament, in the kingdom of England; and to our very loving friend, William Lenthall, Esq. speaker of the honourable commons house in parliament, in the said kingdom.

" Our very good lord, and Mr. Speaker of the commons house in parliament,

" Your joint letters of the fourth of July last directed to us, were so long in coming, as they came not to our hands

until the sixth of October. By those your letters, you signify, that the lords and commons in parliament have commanded you to let us know, that they have seen our letters of the tenth of June, directed to the speaker of the house of commons, accompanied with an act of state, in the preamble whereof there is an expression to this effect; that our present difficulties were occasioned through the failure of the houses of parliament in England, who undertook the charge of this war: to which expression, it seems, exception is taken, and interpretations made thereof, far otherwise we are sure than was intended by us; and, as we conceive, otherwise than the true sense of those words can bear. It is true, that when we were necessitated to set on foot the new imposition, raised here in nature of an excise, towards keeping this army from perishing by famine, it became necessary to express, in the act of council whereby we ordered it, the reasons inducing us to set on foot here a thing so unknown to his majesty's laws, and gracious government, and the difficulties wherewith we contended, which did necessitate that resolution; and in expressing those difficulties, we used that expression, to shew whence our difficulties were occasioned; and that we have therein declared the truth, we crave leave to mind you of some particulars.

"If we should look so far back as to repeat the substance of many despatches sent from this board, since the beginning of this rebellion; some to our very good lord, the lord lieutenant of this kingdom; some to the lords, and others, members of both houses, his majesty's commissioners for the affairs of this kingdom; and some to the speaker of the commons house of parliament there; it would prove a voluminous work; and therefore we forbear to look further back into those despatches, than to the time when the committee sent thence hither, were here; who, at their arrival here, in the end of October 1642, brought with them some money and provisions, but far short of that which the necessities of this army required; and indeed so inconsiderable, in respect of those necessities, as even before that committee departed, they saw the money they had brought, wholly issued; and the high and unavoidable necessity of a further, speedy, and

plentiful supply of money, and other provisions. By letters from this board of the twentieth of January 1642, and directed to the speaker of the commons house of parliament there, it was signified thither, that the provisions of victuals here were then at the very bottom; that that committee then here, had certified thither those wants; that if a personal supply[1] of victual arrived not here very speedily, the army could not subsist, but must have been constrained to disband, to the loss of this kingdom, and utter destruction of the few subjects here: that the want of treasure here, to pay the army, enforced this board to issue victual to the common soldier, and others, towards their pay, which did the sooner exhaust the magazine of victual; that the captains, and other officers, not having relief that way, were reduced to great extremities, as had been formerly often represented thither; and therefore this board, by the said letters, then moved, that treasure might be sent us speedily, so to redeem the officers from the calamities they suffered, and this board from their unsupportable clamours; and to enable the payment, in some part, in money to the common soldier; so to make the victual we then expected, to hold out the longer.

"It was also by those letters then advertised thither, that the extremities of the officers of the army had begotten so much discontent amongst them, as divers colonels, and others of them, presented at this board a remonstrance, whereof a copy was then sent enclosed in the said letters; which remonstrance did exceedingly trouble and perplex us, lest it might beget such distractions amongst us, as might give too much advantage to the rebels. But, after full debate thereof at this board, it was here directed, that in present, to render some subsistence to the officers, until treasure arrived forth of England, every man in this city should bring in half of his plate, to be paid for it when treasure arrived; whereupon some plate was brought in, and applied towards the army. This board did also signify by those letters, that without some speedy relief forth of England, the burden here was become too heavy to be borne; and therefore, in discharge of our duty to God, to our gracious sovereign, to

[1] *Present*, surely.

that kingdom, and to this, we held ourselves bound clearly to make known, that unless we were speedily supplied from thence with money, arms, and victual, it would be impossible for us any further to prosecute this war, or to preserve from sudden confusion this state and government: so highly did the discontent of the officers, and the disorder of the soldiers, threaten us, that it might be easily apprehended, what, in all human probability, must become of us, when it was then evident, that here was no money, nor any possibility of procuring any in this city; when our victuals were spent; when a great part of the army had no arms; which we doubted, and feared, for the reasons in those letters expressed, that the soldiers would make prey of us and this city at last; and when we saw that the destruction, then threatened against us, must then go further, even to the loss of this crown, and kingdom; and to the highly endangering of that kingdom also; which, for the honour of his majesty, and the English nation, we by our said letters desired might, by the wisdom of that honourable house, be speedily prevented, by hastening away, with all possible speed, supply of money, arms, and victuals.

"By other letters of this board, directed to Mr. Speaker, and dated the said 20th of January 1642, it was advertised thither, that it was become of absolute necessity, that there should be sent us from thence, speedily, six hundred able light geldings for recruits, to be defalked out of the entertainments of those who should receive them. By other letters from this board, of the same date, directed to Mr. Speaker, it was signified thither, that we had contracted an agreement here with Theodore Schout, and Jacob Ablin, merchants, that Anthony Tyrenes, in London, or Daniel Wibrant, in Amsterdam, should receive seven thousand eight hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings; for which the said Theodore and Jacob had undertaken, by their agreement with us, to buy in Holland, and to transport from thence hither, at their own charge and adventure, several proportions of arms mentioned in a docket, then sent enclosed in our said letters; and they undertook so to secure it by insurance, and provide such a ship of force, as we might

be assured to have all those arms arrive here by the tenth of March now last past. And we, by our said letters, earnestly besought that the said sum of seven thousand eight hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings might, by order of that honourable house, be speedily paid to the said Tyrenes, or Wibrant, that those provisions might arrive here by the tenth of March; that we might not lose the advantage of the then next spring, for recovering of such of the seaports, and other places of importance, as the rebels had gotten; and for proceeding effectually in this war. Those letters also moved for other provisions of war, which we conceived might be had in England in reasonable time. And we then sent a docket of those also; desiring earnestly they might be sent us speedily. And although there was an agent sent from hence in November 1641, to solicit the despatches sent from hence, who attended at London, when those our letters were sent hence; yet of so great importance was that despatch, requiring instant and speedy answer and supply from thence, as we adjudged it necessary to give special instructions to the lord Conway, and others, (besides that agent then there attending,) to move his majesty, and solicit the houses of parliament, to hasten unto us, with all possible speed, the provisions in those three letters contained: and that there might nothing be omitted, that by solicitation could be obtained, there were agents also sent thither from the army to solicit for them. By letters from this board of the twentieth of February 1642, directed to Mr. Speaker, we again desired, with all possible earnestness, that the provisions of all sorts, expressed in those three letters of the twentieth of January, and the dockets therewith sent, might be hastened to us; and that the said seven thousand eight hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings, for arms to be provided in Holland, might be speedily paid. And in those last letters we again signified our miserable and unspeakable want of victuals, arms, munition, money, shoes, and other necessaries; and that if the supplies we moved for came not speedily, we were unavoidably in danger to be as much devoured by our own wants, as by the sword of the rebels; and that our want of corn was so much

the more, in regard that, in confidence to be plentifully supplied forth of England, we caused great destruction to be made of corn; there being indeed nothing conducing more to the destruction of rebels, than the burning of all corn.

"We also then signified the necessity of sending a further supply of powder and match; and we declared, that no words could sufficiently express the greatness of the danger we should incur, if our supplies came not speedily: that the plate brought in amounted not to one thousand two hundred pounds; a sum very inconsiderable towards relief of the officers. By letters of this board of the twenty-fifth of February 1642, directed to Mr. Speaker, we signified, that when our means from thence failed, and our credits could hold out no longer, we were constrained, towards relief of the army, to force from the protestant merchants here, as well English as strangers, not only the commodities they had brought hither, but the native commodities also; undertaking to them that they should receive payment at London; which failing, that those that would supply us were disheartened, and durst not come hither with commodities; wherefore we again, by those letters, besought speedy supply from thence; declaring that otherwise the army and we must perish; and so far we were transported with grief, in the consideration of the high extremities of this kingdom, and army, as we did, by those letters, lament for the shame and dishonour, which we then foresaw would reflect upon the English nation, if then, after so long and often forewarnings, given by us to that honourable house, this kingdom were lost, and that for want of supplies from thence; wherein we then declared, that all the comfort left us was, that we had done our parts, and discharged our duties to God, to his majesty, and to all his kingdoms, who must have borne their parts with us in so heavy a loss.

"By letters from this board, dated the twenty-third of March 1642, directed to Mr. Speaker, we signified that our wants enforced us to distribute the soldiers, for their victuals, in and throughout this city and suburbs; which, we signified, could not long hold, considering the poverty of this place; and therefore, to avoid utter confusion, we did again

and again beseech most earnestly, that, above all things, victuals and munition might be sent us speedily; and that money, arms, clothes, shoes, and other provisions might also be sent; declaring, that if they yet came speedily, the kingdom, and his majesty's forces here, might be thereby redeemed out of part of their distresses; and we enabled, by the blessing of God, to give his majesty such an account of this kingdom, as would be for the glory of the king our master, and the honour of the English nation, in the subduing this horrid rebellion; which, by reason of our wants, and in no other respect, was then grown very terrible: and we did again call for the provisions, moved for by our several former letters of the twentieth of January, and twentieth of February, and for the payment of the seven thousand eight hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings, for arms to be provided in Holland, and those also which we expect from London; declaring, that unless those supplies came, we should be disabled from doing service on the rebels the then next spring, or the then succeeding summer; and must undoubtedly put the rebels into a condition of prevailing against us, which we well believed the kingdom of England would never have permitted against so faithful servants and valiant soldiers, as his majesty yet had here.

"By those letters also we signified, that it was necessary that there should be here, at this harbour of Dublin, by the middle of April, at least two ships of good strength; and that the ships designed for guarding the other parts of the coasts of this kingdom, should be hastened away with all possible speed. By letters from this board directed to Mr. Speaker, dated the fourth of April 1643, we represented again the unspeakable miseries of the officers and soldiers, for want of all things; and all those made the more insupportable, in the want of food; and that this city was then apparently found to be unable to help us, as it had formerly done; and repeated again, in as lively terms as we could, the high extremities fallen, and increasing upon us; declaring, that we were enforced to see, who had any thing yet left him not taken from him, to help us; and that although there were but few such, and some poor merchants, whom

we had formerly, by the law of necessity, utterly undone; yet, that we were forced to wrest their commodities from them: that there were few here, of ourselves or others, that had not felt their parts in the enforced rigour of our proceedings towards preserving the army; and we earnestly desired, that his majesty, and the English nation, might not suffer so great, if not irrecoverable prejudice and dishonour, as must unavoidably be the consequence of our not being relieved suddenly; but that yet, although it were then even almost at the point to be too late, supplies of victuals, and munition, in present might be hastened hither, to keep life, until the rest might follow: declaring also, that there was no victual in the store, and that there would not be an hundred barrels of powder left, when the out-garrisons, as they must then instantly have been, were supplied; and that the residue of our provisions must also come speedily after, or otherwise that England could not hope to secure Ireland, or secure themselves against Ireland; but in the loss of it, must look for such enemies from hence, as would perpetually disturb the peace of his majesty, and his kingdom of England; and among them, by sea and land, as we had often formerly represented thither; which mischiefs we signified might yet be prevented, if we were but then forthwith enabled, from thence, with means to overcome this rebellion.

"We then also again renewed our requests for the provisions mentioned in our letters of the twentieth of January, and for the payment of the seven thousand eight hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings, for arms to be provided in Holland, besides those we expected from London: we then also sent, enclosed in our letters to Mr. Speaker, a copy of writing, signed by sundry officers of the army, which was in a style threatening much danger; whereby appeared the high necessity of hastening treasure hither to pay them, and the rest of the officers, and provide victual for the soldiers. On the tenth of April 1643, we received letters from Mr. Speaker, of the seventeenth of March, in answer to our letters of the twentieth and twenty-fifth of February. Those letters from Mr. Speaker ad-

vised free trade and truck to be given to merchants, by taking our native commodities, that cannot be manufactured here, for their corn, and other victuals, and carrying them into England, or other places not prohibited. And by our letters directed to Mr. Speaker, dated the twenty-second of April, in answer to his said letters of the seventeenth of March, we made it appear, that that design could not hold to derive benefit to this army. By those our letters we signified also, that the necessities of the army still pressed us, by degrees, to break the merchants here, by wresting their commodities from them, upon promise of satisfaction in England: that the failing of that satisfaction in England, as it had undone them, so had it infinitely prejudiced the service here: that we engaged the word of this state, to procure payment to many others, out of the next treasure that shall arrive forth of England, (which courses, though very hard, did help us for a time;) that when those failed, we begun at ourselves, then at others, then at all fraternities, and corporations, as bakers, brewers, butchers, vintners, and the like; then at all particular persons observed to have any visible substance, not being able to spare poor men, who (to gain a poor living) made profession, some of selling hot waters, and some of cutting tobacco: that in the end, all other means failing, we had recourse to the only native commodity, hides; seizing on all that could be found, either on shipboard, ready to be exported hence, (with purpose in some of the owners of them to return victuals hither; which we were not able to wait for,) or on shore; prepared for ship-board; and made use of them to get the army in a few days' bread, still hoping provisions of victual might come to keep them alive; which did draw upon us infinite clamour.

"And by the said letters we earnestly besought, that before we should be utterly swallowed up in the confusion of affairs, wherewith we were beset, the destruction of this state, and army, and kingdom, being then no less feared to arise from the army, though sent hither for their preservation, than from the fury of the rebels, if that honourable house would not look back into all our several letters sent

thither, which we then declared should for ever acquit us before God, and the world; as having discharged our duties to God, to his majesty, and to this his kingdom, in fully, and timely, and often representing thither the evils then ready to seize upon this state, the army, and the kingdom, and the means of preventing them; yet at last they would be pleased to review our said several letters of the twentieth and twenty-fifth of February, of the twentieth of January, twenty-third of March, and fourth of April. We then also signified that the soldiers, pressed through wants, attempted tumults and mutiny, plundered divers of the inhabitants of this city, as well English and protestants, as others: that we apprehended those disorders but beginnings of what, we doubted, would then shortly ensue, even the ransack of this city, if, by supplies forth of England, it were not prevented: that then there would be no refuge left, either for the army, or other English here: that we were not able to send out the soldiers, for want of money to furnish ordinary necessities, and of ammunition: wherefore we then again earnestly moved, that some means might be found for complying with our desires, in those our several letters expressed; certifying, that the state of affairs here could not possibly admit the least deferring; and that no help was to be expected from hence; as we had often, and fully, in former letters, signified thither: that if it were not immediately supplied forth of England with powder, we should not be able to defend ourselves, or offend the rebels; and that, above all things, munition, money, and victuals, were, of necessity, to be sent in the first place; and the other provisions to be sent after, which also we certified most needful to be done with all possible speed.

"By our letters of the sixth of May 1643, directed to Mr. Speaker, we signified how necessary it was, that the intended establishment should be considered there, and put into such a way as to be made perfect, and, receiving his majesty's gracious approbation, might be sent hither; which we desired to be hastened, that the officers, who daily labour in the public services, might the better know what they are to have; of which establishment we have not yet had

any return. By our letters to Mr. Speaker of the 11th of May 1643, we signified, that although by letters from Mr. Speaker, dated the 17th day of March, it was advertised hither, that six weeks' provision of victuals, for each province, was in preparing, yet that it was not come, or if it was come, that it was a supply far below that which was necessary to be then sent hither. And we then again repeated the miserable condition of this army, through want of all things, especially money, victuals, clothes, arms, and munition: that there were not above forty barrels of powder in the store, (a mean and inconsiderable quantity for this army, on whom depends the preservation of the kingdom,) and we again desired, in case of so high and eminent danger, and that with all possible importunity, that a course might be then instantly taken for hastening away powder with all speed, and that the other provisions also of all sorts, mentioned in our former several letters of the 20th of January, 20th and 25th of February, the 23d of March, and the 4th and 22d of April, might be also hastened away; and that the seven thousand eight hundred and fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings, for arms to be provided in Holland, besides those we expected from London, might be paid.

"By those letters also we signified, that we could not but lament our misfortune, and the dishonour reflecting on the English nation, that the season of the year should be so far entered into, and yet (notwithstanding all the representations, often, and timely enough made thither of affairs here) no means put into our power to make use thereof, in a vigorous prosecution of the war; but instead thereof, notwithstanding all the endeavour and industry here used to prevent it, we then beheld ourselves sunk deeply into a gulph of confusion, and distress of affairs, being equally in danger to be devoured through our wants, or to be destroyed by the rebels, for want of needful habiliments of war to enable our defence, as had been formerly often and fully declared thither; and therefore we again pressed to be redeemed from the terribleness of our condition, by such timely accessions of supplies forth of England, as were contained in our said former despatches.

"By our letters to Mr. Speaker, dated the 16th of May 1643, we desired that 320*l.* might be paid there, as we had formerly desired, for sundry particulars necessary for the chirurgeons of this army; there being a great want thereof for the cures of wounded men. And then we sent, and employed sir Thomas Wharton, knight, a member of this army, purposely to solicit the means of our relief, that so we might omit nothing that we conceived might conduce to the hastening of our expected supplies. And by our letters of the 16th of May, then sent to Mr. Speaker, we signified, that the kingdom was then in more danger than ever to be forced out of our hands, for want of timely supplies out of England; and we desired most earnestly, that his despatch might be hastened for our preservation, that, if it were possible, the king and kingdom of England might yet then be preserved from that irrecoverable prejudice and dishonour, which must necessarily accompany and follow the loss of this kingdom.

"And here we may not omit to mention, that we prevailed with divers persons to advance provisions to us, at several times, to answer the crying necessities of this army; and to some we gave our bills, in nature of bills of exchange, and to others, our own bonds, undertaking repayment at London by the parliament there; which we did in confidence to find ready payment there accordingly: and we do not yet hear that those bills of exchange, or bonds, are yet paid there; but we find some of the parties ready to sue and implead us here, for those debts, though contracted only for the public service.

"Which proceeding of this board, from time to time, we thus at large deduce, that so it may appear fully that we have discharged those duties which we owe to his majesty, and to the trust of his majesty's affairs here, in representing thither fully, and timely, and often, the wants and extremities to which this kingdom and army were reduced, and the means requisite to be sent for relief and preservation of both; and yet in all that time, namely from the said twentieth day of January 1642, to the tenth of June 1643, which is the day of the date of our letters, to which yours of the fourth of July is an answer, or from that time to this, there

arrived here, as sent from the parliament of England, towards the relief of this army, and for maintenance of this war, but the particulars following, viz. forty-nine thousand two hundred forty-eight pounds of butter; forty-nine thousand six hundred forty-nine pounds of cheese; four hundred forty-seven barrels and a half of wheat and rye; three hundred threescore and seven barrels of peas; and three hundred sixty-six barrels of oats; also five hundred suits of clothes, one thousand cassocks, two thousand eight hundred and eighteen caps; also eight and twenty hundred three quarters and one pound of match, thirty-eight hundred two quarters and nine pound of shot, and three hundred threescore and fourteen barrels of powder; of which provisions of munition, there were three hundred and one and forty barrels of powder, and five hundred fifty-five pound two quarters and four and twenty pound of match, which was the munition we had contracted for here, and in the way, coming from Holland, was intercepted at sea, and carried to Calais, and afterwards set free there by the mediation of his majesty, and the houses of parliament in England, but the price thereof stands charged on the said houses of parliament.

"This was not above a week's provision, or thereabouts, of victuals, for the army in Lemster, being fifteen regiments of foot, and twenty-two troops of horse, and four troops of dragoons, besides train of artillery, and four hundred firelocks; so as certainly there was a failure in supplying us, and that failure was not occasioned through any neglect on our parts, in not representing thither the wants and extremities endured by this army; and the means of their supply is, as we conceive, very clear by those several despatches sent from us to Mr. Speaker. And seeing, that the charge of this war was referred to, and undertaken by, the houses of parliament of England, and that by those despatches they fully understood the condition of affairs here, we offer it to any man's consideration, whether or no we had not just cause to conceive, and accordingly to express in that act of council, that our difficulties, which were necessary to be mentioned in that act, were occasioned through the failure of the houses of parliament in England.

"And whereas you write, that the lords and commons in parliament do believe we have sent copies of our said letters and act of council to his majesty, it is true, that we have so done; and therein acquitted ourselves towards that duty which we owe him; and had failed in our duties, if we had done otherwise. But how from that, as we conceive, necessary and true expression of ours in the said act of council, or from our sending a copy thereof, and of our said letters, to his majesty, there can be any just cause to suspect (as your letters seem to infer) there is such an impious design now on foot, as your letters mention, we confess we do not understand, or any design at all other than the needful settling here of the imposition, in nature of an excise, in those our letters and act of council mentioned; without which this army could not have subsisted to this time; and was pressed by the committee from the parliament here, but then avoided; our hopes being then more, and our necessities not so great as they were when we laid it. And as we find by your letters, that the lords and commons in parliament there have done us the right, by your said letters, to signify that they cannot think we intended, by that expression, to further the design in your letters mentioned, so we hold it necessary to declare, that we neither have forgotten, nor can forget, the present condition of that kingdom; but we have a long time beheld, and still behold, and lament with bleeding hearts, the woful condition of that kingdom, and how God's hand is still stretched out against us, in those heavy distractions there; yet we comfort ourselves with hope, that God, in mercy to his majesty, and to all his kingdoms and people, will at length, in his own good time, answer the prayers and tears of us his majesty's servants, and many thousands of others his good subjects there, and here, continually poured out for his majesty, and his kingdom, in removing that heavy judgment, and settling peace and tranquillity there, to the glory of God, the honour of his majesty, and the joint happiness of all his subjects, in all his kingdoms and dominions.

"Nor have we forgotten the supplies of all sorts sent hither by the parliament, but do very well remember them. But we confess we know not what relief coming hither hath

been taken away, either by sea or land, or by whom, or what discouragement hath been given them in return; only we have heard, that the shipping, employed by the rebels at Wexford, did give them some interruption at sea; and that was occasioned by neglect of duty in those who commanded the ships designed for the guard of the coasts of this kingdom: and the said ship bound hither from Holland with munition, which we had contracted for here, was intercepted at sea, and carried to Calais, and afterwards set free there, by the mediation of his majesty and the houses of parliament in England. And we find that some ships, sent hither it seems at first with provisions from London, and other ships bound hither with provisions on private men's adventures, were taken away even from this harbour, a few days before the cessation of arms here, as they were coming in, and carried to Liverpool, by one captain Dausk, a person employed by the two houses of parliament there, in the command of a ship; and that ship commanded by Dausk, and other ships employed at Liverpool, do now, and have a long time stayed on that side, laden with provision of victuals, coals, and other necessary relief bound from thence hither to be sold; which, if they had arrived here, would have brought great relief to this army, and the inhabitants in this city, though on the adventure of the bringers; which we hold necessary to represent thither, to the end that their uncharitableness towards those poor men that would adventure hither to relieve us, and their inhumanity towards this distressed army and city, and many of his majesty's protestant subjects therein, might appear so, as they, or others, may not presume hereafter to offend in that kind.

"And whereas you write, that we should not conceive that only the charge of this war was referred to, and undertaken by, the parliament, as if their part were to be our bankers, only to provide monies for us to spend, and were not to advise and direct the managing of the war; we confess we neither did, nor do conceive the parliament there to be bankers for us; but did esteem them, as those to whom the king our master referred the charge of this war, and to whom, as so intrusted by his majesty, this board, from time

to time, made application ; and if any advice had come from them, concerning the managing of the war, we should have endeavoured to have made the best use thereof, for the furtherance of his majesty's service here. And here we hold it necessary to declare, that when we understood, that his majesty, at the humble desire of the lords and commons of parliament in England, had, in April 1642, granted a commission to some members of both houses, for ordering and disposing all matters there, for the defence, relief, and recovery of this kingdom ; and that his majesty commanded all his officers, ministers, and subjects of his kingdoms of England and Ireland, to be obedient, aiding, and assisting to the said commissioners in the due execution of the said commission ; and that by his majesty's instructions, annexed to the said commission, his majesty gave it in charge to those commissioners, to advertise his lieutenant of Ireland, the council, and other governors and commanders here, what they conceived to be needful for the prosecution of the war in the best manner, for the defence of this his kingdom, and ease of the great charges and expenses, which, by occasion of this rebellion, lay upon his loving subjects of his kingdom of England : we therefore, by our letters of the seventh of June 1642, directed to those his majesty's commissioners, besought, among other things, present and particular direction for the prosecution of the war ; which yet we have not received; only we had advice from thence, to send some forces into Connaught ; which was done ; and for sending some forces into Munster, which, by our letters of the thirteenth of September 1642, to the commissioners there, we signified was not possible for us to do, unless we were plentifully supplied of those things, whereof the wants then certified thither did then disable us.

"Concerning the commission in your letters mentioned, it was not to hear what the rebels would say, or propound for their own advantage, as your letters mention ; but his majesty having received an humble petition, in the name of the recusants of Ireland, desiring to be heard, his majesty thought it not unjust, or inconvenient for him, to receive from them what they could say unto him ; to whom they in-

sinuated that they would yet yield due obedience. And therefore his majesty, by his commission under the great seal of England, (wherein he declared his extreme detestation of the odious rebellion, which the recusants of Ireland have, without any ground or colour, raised against him, his crown, and dignity,) authorized some of his ministers here, to hear at large what the petitioners should say, or propound; which his majesty, by the said commission, directed that the petitioners, or the principal of them, authorized by the rest, should set down in writing under their hands; and the commissioners to send the same to his majesty; whereupon his majesty by the said commission declared, he would take such further consideration, as should be just, honourable, and fit for his majesty: and that that course gave not the least interruption to the proceeding of the war, appears by this, that on the eighteenth of March (being in the time the commissioners, authorized by his majesty, gave meeting to those of the other side, upon that commission) the lord marquis of Ormond, though one of those commissioners, in his return from Rosse with about two thousand five hundred foot, and five hundred horse of his majesty's army, fought with the army of the rebels, consisting of about six thousand foot, and six hundred and fifty horse, and obtained a happy and glorious victory against them; and the rebels' army being defeated, and wholly routed, and their baggage and munition seized on, his majesty's forces lodged that night where they had gained the victory, as by former letters of this board, of the fourth of April 1643, directed to Mr. Speaker, we formerly signified thither: which we thus repeat, to manifest that that commission, or the meeting thereupon, gave not any manner of interruption to the proceeding of the war.

"Concerning the letters you mention, to divest the committee of both houses there of an authority given them by both houses, we remember that his majesty, by his letters of the third of February 1642, understanding that the then justices and council had admitted, without his order or knowledge, to sit in council with them in this his kingdom, Mr. Robert Goodwin and Mr. Reynolds, and that thereby they were become so bold, as to take upon them to hear, and de-

bate of matters treated of in council, his majesty, by his said letters, signified by his express command, that they should not be permitted to sit, or be present any more at his majesty's council-table here; but if they had any business, his majesty willed, that they should attend as others of their quality: which his majesty's pleasure was humbly obeyed by his said justices and council, with that duty and submission, which was due from them to his royal commands. And as his majesty, by his said letters, required, that, if those persons had any business, they should attend, as others of their quality; so, if they had afterwards offered any business at this board, they should have been heard therein; which was also signified to them before their departure hence. And now, upon this occasion, we having perused the copies they delivered at this board, of the order of both houses dated the sixth of October 1642, and of their instructions, do find indeed, that, by the said order, the said Robert Reynolds, and Robert Goodwin, were to have the credence, power, and esteem of a committee sent hither by the advice and authority of both houses of parliament; and that, by the said instructions, they were to be admitted to be present, and vote at all consultations concerning the war; yet there is nothing in the said order, or instructions, for admitting them to sit, or be present at his majesty's council-table; which is that which his majesty, by his said letters, required, should not be permitted; which cannot be conceived to be a divesting them of any authority given them by both houses.

"And as to the late alteration of government here, expressed in your letters, although his majesty in his high wisdom adjudged it fit to alter one of those governors, which he had placed here, which was no more than he and his royal predecessors had usually done in all ages, as often as they thought fit, yet that made no alteration in the government; but it in all times continued, and still continues, the same, though in other persons.

"That part of your letters which declares, that you are forbidden to tell us what supplies of money, victual, ammunition, and other necessaries, were then in a good forward-

ness to be sent hither for the support of the officers and soldiers here, requires no answer on our parts, other than this truth, that they are not yet arrived here. Concerning Mountrose's letters to colonel Crawford, we know of no treason to be discovered thereby; but for the sea-captains in your letters mentioned, it is certain that their neglects and misdeeds deserve punishment, which we desire they may find rather to their correction, than to their ruin.

"Thus we have given answer to those parts of your letters, which, we conceived, concerned us; whereby, we hope, both houses of parliament there will now remain satisfied, as in the necessity and justice of our actions, so in the truth and candour of our intentions, in those particulars to which your said letters seem to take exception. And so we remain,

From his majesty's castle of Dublin 28th of Oct. 1643.

"Your lordships' very loving friends,

Jo. Burlase.	*Hen. Tichborne.*	*Rich. Bolton, Canc.*
La. Dublin.	*Ormond.*	*Roscommon.*
Ant. Midensis.	*Ed. Brabazon.*	*Char. Lambert.*
Geo. Shurley.	*Gor. Lowther.*	*Tho. Rotherham.*
Fr. Willoughby.	*Tho. Lucas.*	*Ja. Ware.*
	G. Wentworth.	

The distractions in Ireland being, by this means, in some degree allayed, and both parties having time to breathe, the king, in the next place, considered how he might apply that cessation to the advancement of his affairs in England. One of the principal motives that induced that cessation, was the miserable state of the army there, ready, through extreme wants, to disband; so that there being now less use of them there, and an impossibility to keep them, his majesty had it only in his election, whether he should suffer them there to disband, and dispose of themselves as they thought fit, which could not be without infinite disorder, and might probably prove as much to his particular disservice; or whether he should draw over such a number as might be safely spared, to his own assistance in England; to which he was as-

sured, that the devotion and affection of most of the principal or considerable officers there cheerfully inclined; and of this latter he made little scruple to make choice, when he was not only informed of the preparations and readiness in Scotland to invade this kingdom; but that they had called over their old general, the earl of Leven, who commanded the Scotch forces in Ireland, and many other officers and soldiers out of that kingdom, to form and conduct their army into this; and that there were also arts and industry used, by some agents for the parliament, to persuade the English officers likewise to bring over their men for their service.

So that having directed the marquis of Ormond, to make choice of such regiments and troops as were necessary for the defence of the several garrisons, or as could be provided for, and supported in that kingdom, and that the rest should be sent for England. To which purpose, shipping was sent; with direction, that those from and about Dublin should be shipped for Chester, to be joined to those forces under the command of the lord Capel; whereby he might be able to resist the growing power of sir William Bruerton; who, by an addition of forces from London, and with the assistance of sir Thomas Middleton, and sir John Gell, was grown very strong; being backed by Lancashire, which upon the matter was wholly reduced to the obedience of the parliament: and that the other forces out of Munster should be landed at Bristol, to be disposed by the lord Hopton; who was forming a new army, to oppose sir William Waller; who threatened an inroad into the west; or rather to seek him out by visiting Hampshire and Sussex, if the other were not ready to advance.[1]

The court was much increased by the queen's presence, and the necessities were increased with the expense. All correspondence was absolutely broken with London, insomuch as a sworn messenger of the chamber, sent to London with a writ, and proclamation for the adjournment of the term to Oxford, was apprehended as a spy, (as hath been

[1] *A very considerable portion is here omitted, which will be found in the Appendix B.*

said before,) and executed by martial law; and the two houses caused a great seal to be made with the king's image and inscription, and put the same into the hands of commissioners; and so the courts were continued in Westminster-hall, for the despatch of justice, (as they called it,) as had been formerly, notwithstanding the king's proclamation. The money, which the particular persons of all conditions had been very plentifully supplied with in the beginning of the war, now near spent, and the stopping the intercourse with London, had shut the door against further supply; so that all men were weary of the condition they were in, and expressed it, as weary men used to do, in murmurs and complaints. And now all the hope was in the convention of the members of parliament; which, being a new thing, suspended the present indisposition, and administered some expectation, what they, who came from all quarters of the kingdom, would do.

According to the king's proclamation, the members of both houses of parliament, who had withdrawn out of conscience and duty from those at Westminster, appeared at Oxford at the day appointed; except such as could not reasonably be absent from their commands in the counties, where the armies were. Who were graciously and solemnly welcomed by his majesty, with that ceremony which is used at the opening of a parliament; when his majesty told them:

"That he had called them to be witnesses of his actions, and privy to his intentions; and that he desired to receive any advice from them, which they thought would be suitable to the miserable and distracted condition of the kingdom; in presenting whereof, they should use all that parliamentary freedom which would be due to them if they were with him at Westminster, and which, with all their other privileges, they should enjoy at Oxford, though they could not in the other place;" with many expressions of grace towards them, and confidence in them. As soon as they had withdrawn to those places which were assigned to their counsels, both lords and commons entered upon the deliberation of all possible expedients, in order to peace; most men believing, ac-

cording to the reason and conscience of their own hearts, that the difficulty was greater, to dispose those at London to the honesty and confidence of a treaty, than, in that treaty, to agree on such conclusions which might be satisfactory to all parties; judging it impossible, that men could desire to bring ruin and desolation upon their country, if they were once persuaded that it might be prevented with their own preservation. But how to advance to any formality, which probably might produce a disposition to intercourse, appeared very hard. When they thought of advising the king to send a gracious message and overture to the two houses, they presently remembered and considered what his majesty had already done that way, and how ill returns of reverence and duty he had received from them: that to the two last messages he had sent (it being not possible now to send any more gracious and obliging) they had never returned answer, and that they still detained his last messenger in strict durance, after having exposed him to a trial for his life at a court of war: that they had prohibited any kind of address to be made to them from his majesty, except through the hands of the earl of Essex their general. From thence they entered upon the disquisition, how they might engage his lordship to the same thoughts and desires with them; to the which they easily believed, experience, observation, and interest, would engage him. They persuaded themselves, that the principal ground which had hitherto frustrated all overtures from his majesty towards peace, was the conscience of their own guilt, and the jealousy that proceeded from thence, that no peace could secure them, whilst there was power left in his majesty; but that they could not possibly suspect the performance and exact observation of any agreement, which should be concluded upon the intercession of all the king's party; which must be security for the accomplishment of it. And from the reasonableness of this assertion, they entertained an assurance, that the earl of Essex would as greedily embrace the opportunity, and concur with them in promoting the overture; which was all they desired: for that would remove those forms, which, as so many rocks, were in the way. Hereupon the lords

and commons, the members of both houses, resolved to write a letter to the earl of Essex, in their own names, which, with the king's consent, was by trumpet sent to him, within four days after their meeting. The letter was in these very terms.

"My lord,[1]

"His majesty having, by his proclamation of the twenty-second of December, (upon the occasion of the invasion threatened, and in part begun, by some of his subjects of Scotland,) summoned all the members of both houses of parliament, to attend him here at Oxford, we whose names are underwritten are here met and assembled, in obedience to those his majesty's commands. His majesty was pleased to invite us, in the said proclamation, by these gracious expressions, that his subjects should see, how willing he was to receive advice, for the preservation of the religion, laws, and safety of the kingdom, and, as far as in him lay, to restore it to its former peace and security (his chief and only end) from those whom they had trusted; though he could not receive it in the place where he appointed. This most gracious invitation hath not only been made good unto us, but seconded and heightened by such unquestionable demonstrations of the deep and princely sense, which possesses his royal heart, of the miseries and calamities of his poor subjects in this unnatural war, and of his most entire and passionate affections to redeem them from that sad and deplorable condition, by all ways possible, consistent either with his honour, or with the future safety of the kingdom, that as it were impiety to question the sincerity of them, so were it great want of duty and faithfulness in us, (his majesty having vouchsafed to declare, that he did call us to be witnesses of his actions, and privy to his intentions,) should we not testify, and witness to all the world, the assurance we have of the piety and sincerity of both. We being most entirely satisfied of this truth, we cannot but confess, that amidst our highest afflictions, in the deep and piercing sense of the pre-

[1] *In the handwriting of lord Clarendon's amanuensis.*

sent miseries and desolations of our country, and those further dangers threatened from Scotland, we are at length erected to some cheerful and comfortable thoughts, that possibly we may yet (by God's mercy, if his justice have not determined this nation, for its sins, to total ruin and desolation) hope to be happy instruments of our country's redemption, from the miseries of war, and restitution to the blessing of peace.

"And we being desirous to believe your lordship, however engaged, a person likely to be sensibly touched with these considerations, have thought fit to invite you to that part in this blessed work, which is only capable to repair all our misfortunes, and to buoy up the kingdom from ruin; that is, by conjuring you by all the obligations that have power upon honour, conscience, or public piety, that laying to heart, as we do, the inward bleeding condition of your country, and the outward more menacing destruction by a foreign nation, upon the very point of invading it, you will co-operate with us to its preservation, by truly representing to, and faithfully and industriously promoting with, those by whom you are trusted, this following most sincere and most earnest desire of ours; that they joining with us in a right sense of the past, present, and more threatening calamities of this deplorable kingdom, some persons be appointed on either part, and a place agreed on, to treat of such a peace, as may yet redeem it from the brink of desolation.

"This address we should not have made, but that his majesty's summons, by which we are met, most graciously proclaiming pardon to all without exception,[1] is evidence enough, that his mercy and clemency can transcend all former provocations; and that he hath not only made us witnesses of his princely intentions, but honoured us also with the name of being security for them. God Almighty direct your lord-

[1] I do not know whether this did not make the parliament confide less in the king's good faith than they would have done, had some been excepted from pardon, especially if they measured the king's temper and provocations by their own; for in their offers of grace and accommodations, there were many excepted.---W.

ship, and those to whom you shall present these our most real desires, in such a course as may produce that happy peace, and settlement of the present distractions; which is so heartily desired, and prayed for, by us, and which may make us,

"Your, &c."

From Oxford, 29th of Jan. 1643.

This letter was subscribed by his highness the prince, the duke of York, and three and forty dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons of the house of peers, and one hundred and eighteen members of the house of commons; there being such expedition used in the despatch, that it was not thought fit to be deferred for a greater subscription: albeit it was known that many lords and commoners were upon the way, who came within few days; and there were, at that time, near twenty peers absent with his majesty's leave, and employed in his affairs and armies, in the kingdom; and ten at the same time in the parts beyond the seas. So that the numbers at London were very thin; for there were not above two and twenty peers, who either sat in the parliament, or were engaged in their party; that is to say, the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Essex, Kent, Lincoln, Rutland, Salisbury, Suffolk, Warwick, Manchester, Mulgrave, Denbigh, Stamford, Bullingbrook; the lords Say, Dacres, Wharton, Grey of Warke, Willoughby of Parham, Howard of Escrick, Rochfort, and Robarts; who were present, or had proxies there.

The trumpeter found the earl of Essex at his house in London; where he was detained three or four days; during which time, the committee of both houses, that committee which they called the committee of safety for the two kingdoms, (the Scottish commissioners being a part of it,) resorted to him for his advice: and in the end, he returned with this short letter to the earl of Forth, the king's general.

"My lord,

"I received this day a letter, of the twenty-ninth of this instant, from your lordship, and a parchment subscribed by

the prince, duke of York, and divers other lords and gentlemen; but it neither having address to the two houses of parliament, nor therein, there being any acknowledgment of them, I could not communicate it to them. My lord, the maintenance of the parliament of England, and of the privileges thereof, is that for which we are all resolved to spend our blood; as being the foundation whereupon all our laws and liberties are built. I send your lordship herewith a national covenant, solemnly entered into by both the kingdoms of England and Scotland; and a declaration passed by them both together, with another declaration of the kingdom of Scotland. I rest

"Your lordship's, &c."

What the covenant was, being the same particularly set down before, I need not mention; and the declarations are as public, and would be thought too large to be in this place inserted, to the interruption of the thread of this discourse; yet it cannot be amiss to make a short extract of some particular heads or conclusions of them; that the world may see what kind of reasoning this time had introduced, and that they were as bold with God as with the king.

That declaration of the kingdom of Scotland alone, was, to justify their present expedition into England; in which they said, "It was most necessary, that every one, against all doubting, should be persuaded in his mind of the lawfulness of his undertaking, and of the goodness of the cause maintained by him; which they said was no other, than the good of religion in England, and the deliverance of their brethren out of the depths of affliction; the preservation of their own religion, and of themselves from the extremity of misery, and the safety of their native king, and his kingdoms, from destruction and desolation. Any one of which, (they said,) by all law divine and human, was too just cause of taking of arms; how much more, when all of them were joined in one? And therefore, they wished any man, who did withdraw, and hide himself in such a debate and controversy, to consider, whether he were not a hater of his brethren, against Christian and common charity; an hater of

himself and his posterity, against the law and light of nature; an hater of the king, and his kingdoms, against loyalty, and common duty; and a hater of God, against all religion, and peace."

They said, "the question was not, nor need they dispute, whether they might propagate their religion by arms;[1] but whether, according to their power, they ought to assist their brethren in England, who were calling for their help, and were shedding their blood in defence of that power, without which religion could nether be defended nor reformed; nor unity of religion with them, and other reformed kirks, be attained. So that, they said, the question was no sooner rightly stated, but it was as soon resolved; and concluded, *that the Lord would save them from the curse of Meroz, who came not to help the Lord against the mighty.* They said, the question could not be, as their enemies would make it, whether they should enter into England, and lift arms against their own king, who had promised and done as much, as might secure them in their own religion, and liberties: but whether against the popish, prelatical, and malignant party, their adherents prevailing in England and Ireland, they were not bound to provide for their own preservation. That they might well have known, from their continual experience, ever since the time of their first reformation, especially after the two kingdoms were united under one head and monarch, and from the principles of their own declarations, in the time of their late troubles and dangers, that they could not long, like Goshen, enjoy their light, if darkness should cover the face of other reformed kirks: that Judah could not long continue in liberty, if Israel were led away in captivity; and that the condition of the one kirk and kingdom, whether in religion or peace, must be common to both.

[1] By this it appears, that these wretched fanatics and hypocrites were ready to *dispute* for the affirmative whenever it became a *question*, nay, before; for they here profane a text to justify *the right of propagating their religion by arms:* by which text a curse is denounced against *Meroz* for not doing, what in their modesty they say they will *not dispute* for the right of doing.---W.

"They said, the question was not, whether they should presume to be arbitrators in the matter, now debated by fire and sword, betwixt his majesty and the houses of parliament; which might seem to be foreign and extrinsical to that nation, and wherein they might be conceived to have no interest; but whether, their mediation and intercession being rejected by the one side, upon hope of victory, or suppose by both sides, upon confidence of their own strength and several successes, it were not their duty, it being in their power, to stop or prevent the effusion of Christian blood; or whether they ought not to endeavour to rescue their native king, his crown, and posterity, out of the midst of so many dangers, and to preserve his people and kingdom from ruin and destruction. If every private man were bound in duty to interpose himself as a reconciler and sequestrator between his neighbours, armed to their mutual destruction; if the son ought to hazard his own life for the preservation of his father and brother, at variance one against the other, should a kingdom sit still, and suffer their king and neighbouring kingdom to perish in an unnatural war? In the time of animosity, and appetite of revenge,[1] such an interposing might be an irritation; but afterwards, when the eyes of the mind, no more blood-run with passion, did discern things right, it would be no grief or offence of heart, but matter of thanksgiving to God, and to the instruments which had kept from shedding blood, and from revenge."

With this kind of divinity, and this kind of logic, to shew that they had a clear prospect of whatsoever could be said against them,[2] they resolved to invade their neighbour nation, and to interpose themselves as reconcilers, by joining against their native and natural king, with his rebellious subjects, in all the acts of animosity and blood, which have been ever practised in the most raging and furious civil war.

The other declaration, mentioned in the earl's letter, was

[1] And was not *animosity, and appetite of revenge*, now at the height? —W.

[2] Extremely well observed, and as well expressed. The noble historian would insinuate, (and he insinuates the real fact,) that the Scots were fully conscious they were going to play the rogue.—W.

a declaration passed, and published in the name of both kingdoms, England and Scotland, after their marriage by their new league and covenant, and about the very time that this overture for peace came from Oxford. They were now both equally inspired with the Scottish dialect and spirit; talked, "how clearly the light of the gospel shined amongst them; that they placed not their confidence in their own counsels and strength; but their confidence was in God Almighty, the Lord of Hosts, who would not leave nor forsake his people. It was his own truth and cause, which they maintained against the heresy, superstition, and tyranny of Antichrist: the glory of his name, the exaltation of the kingdom of his Son, and the preservation of his church, was their aim, and the end which they had before their eyes. It was his covenant, which they had solemnly in both nations sworn, and subscribed; which he would not have put in their hearts to do, if he had been minded to destroy them. Upon these and the like grounds and considerations, being confident that this war, wherein both nations were so firmly united, and deeply engaged, was of God, they resolved with courage and constancy to the end to do their part; and the Lord, who had stirred up their spirits, displayed his banner before them, and given the alarum, do that which seemeth him good."

They gave now "public warning to all men to rest no longer upon their neutrality, or to please themselves with the naughty and slothful pretext of indifferency; but that they address themselves speedily to take the covenant, and join, with all their power, in the defence of this cause against the common enemy; and by their zeal, and forwardness hereafter, to make up what had been wanting through their lukewarmness; this they would find to be their greatest wisdom and safety; otherwise they did declare them to be public enemies to their religion and country; and that they were to be censured and punished, as professed adversaries, and malignants."

Then they proclaimed "a pardon to all those who would before such a day desert the king, and adhere to them, and take the covenant;" and concluded, "that they made not that declaration from any presumption, or vain glorying in

the strength of their armies and forces, but from the sense of their duty, which was required and expected from the high places, and public relations, wherein they stood; and from the assurance they had of the assistance of God, by whose providence, the trust and safety of those kingdoms was put into their hands at this time; having, after long and grave consultation, resolved and decreed never to lay down arms, till truth and peace, by the blessing of God, be settled in this island, upon a firm foundation for the present and future generations; which, they said, should be esteemed of them an abundant reward of all that they could do, or suffer in that cause."

These were the declarations which the earl of Essex, together with the covenant, sent, as an answer to that letter from the prince of Wales, and those lords and gentlemen; which might have been the foundation of an honest and honourable peace to all the king's dominions. And I cannot but observe,[1] that after this time that the earl declined this opportunity of declaring himself, he never did gallant or prosperous act in the remainder of his life; but whereas before, he had throughout the course of his command, how unwarrantably soever undertaken, behaved himself with very signal courage and conduct, and at this time was adorned with the testimony of friends and enemies, of a right good general, upon the conclusion of the business of Gloucester; he never, after his taking this covenant, and writing this letter, did one brave thing; but proved unfortunate in all he went about, even to his death; of which we shall say more in its place.

And we the rather extracted these short clauses of those two declarations, that posterity may observe the divine hand of Almighty God upon the people of these miserable kingdoms; that after they had broken loose from that excellent form and practice of religion, which their ancestors and themselves

[1] There is no superstition in this observation. The earl of Essex was no fanatic, and therefore had nothing to prevent his seeing the horrid hypocrisy of these two diabolic *declarations*. So that to support them by the power which his station gave them, could not but be displeasing to the God of truth and justice.—W.

had observed and enjoyed, with a greater measure of happiness, than almost any nation lived under, so long a time; and after they had cancelled and thrown off those admirable and incomparable laws of government, which was compounded of so much exact reason, that all possible mischiefs were foreseen, and provided against; they should be now captivated by a profane and presumptuous entitling themselves to God's favour, and using his holy name in that manner, that all sober Christians must stand scandalized, and amazed at; and be deluded by such a kind of reasoning and debate, as could only impose upon men unnurtured, and unacquainted with any knowledge or science.

There wanted not a just indignation at the return of this trumpet; and yet the answer being so much out of that popular road, of saying something plausibly to the people, it was thought fit again to make an attempt, that at least the world might see, that they did, in plain English, refuse to admit of any peace. So the earl of Forth was advised to write again to the other general, for a safe conduct for two gentlemen then named, against whom no imaginable exception could be taken, to and from Westminster, to be sent by his majesty concerning a treaty of peace. To this the earl of Essex returned answer, "that whensoever he should receive any directions to those who had intrusted him, he should use his best endeavours; and when a safe conduct should be desired for those gentlemen, mentioned in his letter, from his majesty to the houses of parliament, his lordship would, with all cheerfulness, shew his willingness to further any way that might produce that happiness, which all honest men prayed for; which is a true understanding between his majesty, and his faithful and only council, the parliament."

This expression of his resolution of interposing, if he had a letter from his majesty to the houses of parliament, (together with some intimation in letters from London, which at these seasons never wanted,) persuaded many, that the earl wanted only an opportunity to possess the houses with the overture, and if it were once within the walls, there were so many well affected to peace, that the proposition would not be rejected; though no particular person, or com-

bination of men, had the courage, of themselves, to propose it. And therefore at the same time, making all possible preparations for the field, as the scene where the differences were like to be decided, his majesty was prevailed with, though he concluded it would be rejected, to send this ensuing message, which was enclosed to the earl of Essex, to be by him managed.

"Out of our most tender and pious sense of the sad and bleeding condition of this our kingdom, and our unwearied desires to apply all remedies, which, by the blessing of Almighty God, may recover it from an utter ruin, by the advice of the lords and commons of parliament, assembled at Oxford, we do propound, and desire, that a convenient number of fit persons may be appointed, and authorized by you, to meet, with all convenient speed, at such place as you shall nominate, with an equal number of fit persons whom we shall appoint, and authorize to treat of the ways and means to settle the present distractions of this our kingdom, and to procure a happy peace: and particularly, how all the members of both houses may securely meet in a full and free convention of parliament, there to treat, consult, and agree upon such things, as may conduce to the maintenance and defence of the true reformed protestant religion, with due consideration to all just and reasonable ease of tender consciences; to the settling and maintaining of our just rights and privileges, of the rights and privileges of parliament, the laws of the land, the liberty and property of the subject, and all other expedients, that may conduce to that blessed end of a firm and lasting peace both in church and state, and a perfect understanding betwixt us and our people: wherein no endeavours or concurrence of ours shall be wanting: and God direct your hearts in the way of peace.

"*Given at our court at Oxford, 3d March* 1643."[1]

This message being signed by his majesty, was superscribed to the lords and commons of parliament assembled at

[1] *i. e. Old Style.*

Westminster; which, though it was a style they could not reasonably except against, was yet no other than the lords and commons at Oxford took upon themselves, as they well might. After two or three days' debate in the houses, and with the Scottish commissioners, without whose concurrence nothing was transacted, this answer was returned to his majesty; which put a period to all men's hopes, who imagined that there might be any disposition in those councils to any possible and honest accommodation.

"May it please your majesty:

"We the lords and commons assembled in the parliament of England, taking into our consideration a letter sent from your majesty, dated the 3d of March instant, and directed to the lords and commons of parliament assembled at Westminster, (which, by the contents of a letter from the earl of Forth unto the lord general the earl of Essex, we conceive was intended to ourselves,) have resolved with the concurrent advice and consent of the commissioners of the kingdom of Scotland, to represent to your majesty, in all humility and plainness, as followeth: That as we have used all means for a just and safe peace, so will we never be wanting to do our utmost for the procuring thereof; but when we consider the expressions in that letter of your majesty's, we have more sad and despairing thoughts of attaining the same than ever, because thereby, those persons now assembled at Oxford, who, contrary to their duty, have deserted your parliament, are put into an equal condition with it. And this present parliament, convened according to the known and fundamental laws of the kingdom, (the continuance whereof is established by a law consented unto by your majesty,) is in effect denied to be a parliament; the scope and intention of that letter being to make provision how all the members,[1]

[1] It must be owned the king's proposal was a pleasant one, to desire the members of the two houses at Westminster to let in a great majority of the members of the two houses at Oxford to vote along

as is pretended, of both houses may securely meet in a full and free convention of parliament; whereof no other conclusion can be made, but that this present parliament is not a full, nor free convention; and that to make it a full and free convention of parliament, the presence of those is necessary, who, notwithstanding that they have deserted that great trust, and do levy war against the parliament, are pretended to be members of the two houses of parliament.

"And hereupon we think ourselves bound to let your majesty know, that seeing the continuance of this parliament is settled by a law, which (as all other laws of your kingdom) your majesty hath sworn to maintain, as we are sworn to our allegiance to your majesty, (these obligations being reciprocal,) we must in duty, and accordingly are resolved, with our lives and fortunes, to defend and preserve the just rights and full power of this parliament; and do beseech your majesty to be assured, that your majesty's royal and hearty concurrence[1] with us herein will be the most effectual and ready means of procuring a firm and lasting peace in all your majesty's dominions, and of begetting a perfect understanding between your majesty and your people: without which, your majesty's most earnest professions, and our most real intentions concerning the same, must necessarily be frustrated. And in case your majesty's three kingdoms should, by reason thereof, remain in this sad and bleeding condition, tending, by the continuance of this unnatural war, to their ruin, your majesty cannot be the least nor the last sufferer. God in his goodness incline your royal breast, out of pity and compassion to those deep sufferings of your innocent people, to put a speedy and happy issue to these des-

with them; after this there needed no treaty, for the king would thereby become master of his parliament.---W.

[1] It must be owned too, that the parliament was full as reasonable. They only desired the king would submit to them. This fully shews (what has been often before observed by me) there could be no peace till one side or other was become master. And so the parliament tells him in very plain words, when they say, *without which your majesty's most earnest professions, and our most real intentions concerning the same, must necessarily be frustrated.*—W.

perate evils, by the joint advice of both your kingdoms, now happily united in this cause by their late solemn league and covenant; which as it will prove the surest remedy, so it is the earnest prayer of your majesty's loyal subjects, the lords and commons assembled in the parliament of England.

"*Grey of Warke*,

"*Speaker of the house of peers in parliament* pro tempore:

"*William Lenthall*,

"*Speaker of the house of commons in parliament.*

"*Westminster, the 9th of Mar.* 1643."

The hope of peace, by this kind of interposition, did not in any degree make the counsels remiss for the providing of money to supply the army: upon which they had more hope than from a treaty. But the expedients for money were not easily thought upon; though there was a considerable part of the kingdom within the king's quarters, the inhabitants were frequently robbed and plundered by the incursions of the enemy, and not very well secured against the royal troops, who began to practise all the licence of war.[1] The nobility and gentry, who were not officers of the army, lived for the most part in Oxford; and all that they could draw from their estates, was but enough for their own subsistence; they durst not enter upon charging the people in general, lest they should be thought to take upon them to be a parliament;[2] and their care was, that the common people might be preserved from burdens; and they were as careful not to expose the king's honour, or name, to affronts and refusals; but were willing that the envy and clamour, if there should be any, should fall upon themselves.

They appointed all the members of the commons, "to bring in the names of all the gentlemen of estate, and other

1 Not the *licence of war*, which, having its laws as well as peace, is as much an enemy to *licence*. What the noble historian should have said, (and but out of reverence for his own cause would have said,) *all the licence of undisciplined troops.*—W.

2 Did they not take upon them to be a parliament when *either house appointed speakers*?—W.

persons who were reputed to be rich, within their several precincts; and what sum of money every body might be well able to supply the king with, in this exigent of the public state." And then a form of a letter was conceived, which should be sent to every one of them, for such a sum; "the letter to be subscribed by the two speakers of the houses, to the end that the people might know, that it was by the advice of the members of parliament assembled there; which was as much the advice of parliament, as could be delivered at that time in the kingdom." When the way and method of this was approved by the lords, and his majesty likewise consented to it; they began, the better to encourage others, with themselves; and caused letters to be signed and delivered to the several members of both houses, "for such sums as they were well disposed to furnish;" which were to that proportion as gave good encouragement to others; and the like letters to all persons of condition who were in the town. And by this means, there was a sum raised in ready money, and credit, that did supply many necessary occasions, near the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, whereof some came in every day, to enable the king to provide for the next campania; which, the spring coming on, was to be expected early; the parliament having raised vast sums of money, and being like to bring many armies into the field. All, who were to furnish money upon these letters, had liberty to bring, or send it in plate, if that was for their convenience; the king having called the officers and workmen of his mint to Oxford, who coined such plate as was brought in; his majesty likewise made a grant of some forests, parks, and other lands, to certain persons in trust, for the securing of such money as should be borrowed, or those persons who should be bound for the payment of such money; and by this means likewise many considerable sums of money were procured, and cloth, and shoes, and shirts, were provided for the army.

The two houses at Westminster, who called themselves, and they are often called in this discourse, the parliament, had at this time by an ordinance, that is an order of both houses, laid an imposition, which they called an excise, upon

wine, beer, ale, and many other commodities, to be paid in the manner very punctually and methodically set down by them, for the carrying on the war. And this was the first time that ever the name of payment of excise was heard of or practised in England; laid on by those who pretended to be most jealous of any exaction upon the people: and this pattern being then printed, and published at London, was thought by the members at Oxford, as a good expedient to be followed by the king; and thereupon it was settled, and to be governed and regulated by commissioners, in the same method it was done at London. And in Oxford, Bristol, and other garrisons, it did yield a reasonable supply for the provision of arms and ammunition; which, for the most part, it was assigned to; both sides making ample declarations, with bitter reproaches upon the necessity that drew on this imposition, "that it should be continued no longer than to the end of the war, and then laid down, and utterly abolished;" which few wise men believed it would ever be.[1]

The high and insolent proceedings at Westminster made no impression at Oxford towards the shaking the allegiance and courage of those, whom his majesty had called to advise him. But when they found the temper of the other so much, above belief, averse to peace, and intending utter ruin to the king, the church, and all who should continue true Englishmen and subjects, they resolved as frankly to declare their resolutions, that the people might see the issue they were at; and therefore they published a declaration of the grounds and motives which had forced them to leave the parliament at Westminster; in which they mentioned "all the indirect passages, and the acts of violence, by which they had been driven thence; and the obligations upon them in conscience, and law, to adhere to his majesty; and the misery which the other party had already brought upon the kingdom, and the desolation which must inevitably follow those conclusions; and with a greater unanimity and consent, than was ever known in so great a council, where there

[1] Why should it, if it be the most equitable way of raising, as it is the most easy way of collecting taxes?—W.

were so many persons of honour, and judges, and others learned in the law, among whom there was scarce one dissenting voice, they declared,

1. "That all such subjects of Scotland, as had consented to the declaration, entitled the declaration of the kingdom of Scotland concerning the present expedition into England, had thereby denounced war against the kingdom of England, and broke the act of pacification.

2. "That all his majesty's subjects of the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales are both by their allegiance, and the act of pacification, bound to resist and repress all those of Scotland as had, or should enter upon any part of his majesty's realm and dominions, as traitors, and enemies to the state; and that whosoever should abet, aid, or assist the Scots in their invasion, should be deemed as traitors, and enemies to the state.

3. "That the lords and commons remaining at Westminster, that had given their votes, or consent, to the raising of forces under the command of the earl of Essex, or had been abetting, aiding, or assisting thereunto, had levied and raised war against the king, and were therein guilty of high treason.

4. "That those lords and commons remaining at Westminster, that had given their votes and consents for the making and using a new great seal, had thereby counterfeited the king's great seal, and therein committed high treason.

5. "That the lords and commons remaining at Westminster, who had given their consents to the present coming in of the Scots in a warlike manner, had therein committed high treason: and that in these three last crimes, they had broken the trust reposed in them by their country, and ought to be proceeded against as traitors to the king and kingdom."

Over and above these sharp and high conclusions, in a diameter contrary to all the proceedings of parliament, they entered upon a way of raising a present sum of one hundred thousand pounds for the putting his majesty's armies into an equipage to take the field early in the spring; so that the

engagements seemed fuller of animosity on both sides than ever; and the king exceedingly strengthened by the lords and commons having more positively and concernedly wedded his cause, than they were before understood to have done; and in truth, in the civil counsels, nothing was left undone to give it all imaginable advancement.

It had been very happy for the king, if the winter had been spent only in those counsels which might have provided money, and facilitated the making his army ready to take the field in the spring; when he was sure to have occasion enough to use it; and to be in great distress, if it should not be then in a condition to march: but the invasion, which the Scots made in the depth of winter, and the courage the enemy took from thence, deprived his majesty even of any rest in that season. Upon the Scots' unexpected march into England in January, in a most violent frost and snow, hoping to reach Newcastle before it could be fortified, and persuading their common soldiers, that it would be delivered to them as soon as required; thither the vigilant sir Thomas Glemham had been before sent to attend their coming; and the marquis of Newcastle with his army, upon the fame of their invasion, marched thither with a resolution to fight with them before they should be able to join with the English rebels; leaving in the mean time the command of York, and the forces for the guard of that county, to colonel John Bellasis, son to the lord Falconbridge, a person of great interest in the country, and of exemplary industry and courage. But by this means, and the remove of the marquis with his army so far north, the enemy grew to a great strength in those parts; and not only able to disquiet Yorkshire, but drawing a great body of horse and foot out of Derbyshire, Staffordshire, and Lincolnshire, sat down before his majesty's garrison of Newark upon Trent, with a full confidence to take it, and so to cut off all correspondence between his majesty and the marquis of Newcastle. And sir Thomas Fairfax from Hull, in the head of a strong party, had fallen upon a quarter not far from York, commanded by colonel John Bellasis at Selby, and had totally defeated it, taken the cannon, and many officers prisoners, and amongst

those the colonel himself. This was the first action for which sir Thomas Fairfax was taken notice of; who in a short time grew the supreme general under the parliament. This defeat, which was great in itself, was made much greater by the terrible apprehensions the city of York had upon it; insomuch that the marquis of Newcastle, who till then had kept the Scots at a bay, found it necessary to draw his army,[1] and with a part of it to make haste into York, to prevent any further mischief there; by which means the Scots were at liberty to advance as they pleased; and Fairfax improved his reputation by a speedy and unlooked for march into Cheshire. As soon as the king was assured that the Scots did resolve to invade England, he thought it necessary, if it were possible, to extinguish the fire in one of his dominions; and so considered Ireland as the most like to be capable of that blessing. Though the English had hitherto in all encounters beaten the Irish, so that they came to no action with them, but they presently fled to their bogs; yet the indiscretion of the lords justices, who observed very willingly the most rigorous directions from the parliament, had driven and united the whole Irish nation, and almost all the catholics of Ireland, into rebellion; so that their numbers even covered the whole kingdom. The parliament gave over sending supplies thither, having applied many of the men they had raised for that service with the king's approbation, and very much of the money, against the king, in carrying on the war in England; and had upon the matter given up the province of Ulster to the Scots, who were with a numerous army there, independent upon the king's authority, and were grown to be more apprehended by the English than the Irish themselves. The lords justices and council in Ireland had sent commissioners to the king and to the parliament, to desire supplies of men and money and arms and ammunition, without which they professed that Ireland must be lost, and fall into the hands of the Irish; and one of

[1] Why did he not advance to fight the Scots before he returned to put a check to Fairfax's successes? But he appears throughout to have been a very poor fantastic general.—W.

the commissioners, sir Hardress Waller, came to the chancellor of the exchequer, and making a large discourse of the state of Ireland, and of the jealousies and divisions amongst the Irish themselves, told him that there was no way to preserve that kingdom, since he saw evidently the king should not send supplies thither, but to make a peace there, by which he would in a short time be able to suppress the rebellion in England. And sure the man was at that time of that opinion: and it is as true, many professions had been made by the Irish of their loyalty and devotion to the king's service; and there were many differences and jealousies grown between them. Those within the pale, who were all of old English families, planted there many ages before, and now become Irish in their language and manners, had purposes very different from those of the old Irish families, who for the most part were of Ulster, who looked upon the other as original intruders, and thought of making some foreign dependence, and never more to return to their obedience of the crown of England. And yet Owen O'Neale, who was the general of that party, had writ to the king, and made large offers of his service; but his majesty had hearkened to no motions of that kind, nor had any man the inclination or the hardiness to make any proposition to him in favour of the Irish. But when his majesty from all hands understood the desperate or hopeless condition of that kingdom, and that the Scots were ready to enter, he resolved to try what might be done, and to put his own authority there into the hands of one he might entirely trust; and had thereupon made the marquis of Ormond his lieutenant of Ireland, and gave him authority to treat with the Irish; and if he could bring them to consent to a cessation of arms, and to send over persons to treat with him at Oxford for a peace, he might then draw over some of his own English troops to reinforce his army against the time of taking the field. And that design having succeeded according to his wish, and a cessation being made, the marquis of Ormond had in the winter sent him two or three regiments of foot, and two or three troops of horse, out of Munster, to Bristol, and a much greater body of foot, being between three and four thousand, from Dublin to Chester,

all men brave and hardy, and well disciplined under as good officers of all kinds as the nation had: all which arrived in season, and would have been a noble recruit to the king's army, upon which his majesty depended.

The lord Byron, a gallant gentleman of courage, but of no long experience in the war, was then governor of Chester and Shropshire, when those regiments landed; and finding both the men as well as their officers willing to be engaged in present service, having not been used to the ease of winter quarters, he had a great desire to make some attempt with them. All Shropshire and Cheshire was at that time upon the point under the king's obedience; only the town of Nantwich in Cheshire, and upon the confines of the other county, was in rebellion, and garrisoned by the parliament; the defence and strength of it consisting more in the malice of the inhabitants, than in the security of their fortifications, which were not good any where, and in some parts none at all, but defended by the winter, and the deepness of the ways, through which cannon could not then march. The lord Byron had some intelligence in the town, and believed the condition of it to be so ill, that he might quickly become master of it; and therefore he had written to Oxford, upon the landing of the troops from Ireland, that if the king would give him leave to use those troops, he should be able in very few days to reduce Nantwich, which would be scarce out of their way to Oxford; and would remove a pestilent obstruction in that line of communication. The king made little pause in the matter; and so in the very hard frost the lord Byron brought all his troops before it, drawing out of Chester and Shrewsbury as many of the garrisons as could be spared, with a good body of horse. He found the town not so weak as he thought it to be, and stayed longer before it than he ought to have done, until sir Thomas Fairfax, flushed by his victory at Selby, and recruited with new troops out of Hull, came to its relief, with a less number of men than he was to expect to encounter: but by the marching of the garrison out of the town, and by beating the body of horse which were placed too far from the foot, and made no stand, but was presently routed, the

whole body of foot betook themselves to a neighbour church, which they defended only to make conditions; and so became all, officers and soldiers, prisoners of war, which, as it was a new rung to the ladder which sir Thomas Fairfax ascended to the height of his honour, so it was the most sensible blow to the king he had yet sustained, and almost nipped all hopes of getting an army into the field to encounter the enemy, which sailed with a full gale.

The king had no better success in another winter enterprise about the same time; and the experience the parliament had, to their cost, of carrying their army into the field too soon to the siege of Reading, the damage whereof they had scarce yet recovered, might have prepared their enemies to better husbandry of their men. It was thought counsellable, after all armies were retired into their winter quarters, to send a good party of horse and foot into Hampshire, to possess Winchester castle, and to fix another quarter in Sussex, to the end that the well affected there, and in Kent, might have a communication, and be ready in the spring to appear in a body on that side of London; for which the loyal party in Kent had some impatience, as having undergone great pressures and indignities from the parliament. This work was committed to the lord Hopton, who had a very great reputation in all places, and deserved it, being a man of great honour, integrity, and piety; of great courage and industry, and an excellent officer in an army for any command but the supreme, to which he was not equal. He had raised a good body of horse and foot about Bristol, and sir John Berkeley brought a good addition of foot to him from Exeter; with which, and those regiments which arrived there from Ireland about the beginning of December, he marched to Winchester; sir William Ogle having possessed himself of that castle for the king before he came thither. And to enable him to make a further progress to the end aforesaid, and upon intelligence that the parliament had sent out sir William Waller with a strong party of their army to stop lord Hopton's march into those counties, his majesty sent two regiments of horse of his own army, under the command of the lord John Steward, another broth-

er of the duke of Richmond, and two or three regiments of foot; with which the lord Hopton had too much desire to engage with his old friend sir William Waller: and in order thereunto advanced to Farnham, where he was, and had some light skirmishes with his troops, and beat them into that castle, which was a strong place; and where sir William resolved to stay, till he could receive some supply of men, which he daily expected. Whereupon the lord Hopton entered into Sussex, and very prosperously possessed himself of Arundel castle, a place very strongly situated upon the sea, and in all respects so convenient to make a strong quarter, that a better could not be desired; where he left a good garrison under the command of sir Edward Ford, who was a gentleman of that county, and had a regiment of horse in the army. But when he returned from thence towards Winchester, where he meant to have sat quiet till the spring, he found sir William Waller ready to attend his motion; and so in a field near Alton both bodies met, and after a sharp engagement, and great loss on both sides, the lord Hopton was forced to retire in disorder to Winchester, and from thence he came to Oxford, whilst Waller marched to Arundel; and after seven or eight days, the new garrison being disunited amongst themselves, and having not supplied the place with provision for a long siege, which they might have done, compelled them to render to mercy: where, amongst the rest, poor Mr. Chillingworth was taken, and so barbarously used, that he died within few days; but his book will live, and declare him to be a man of rare and admirable parts to all posterity. Besides many other officers of good account who were lost in that battle of Alresford, the lord John Steward, though he was brought off, died of his wounds within three days, to the great grief of the king and all good men. He was the second brother of this noble family, who lost his life in this fatal war, and was a man of great courage; and with a different roughness in his nature from all the rest of the race, had proposed to himself the profession of a soldier, in which he could not but have made a glorious progress, if he had not been so untimely cut off. To give fresh life to those counties, according to a resolu-

tion formerly taken, prince Rupert was sent general into those parts; the lord Byron being his lieutenant general; his highness having a desire to command a body apart from the king's army, upon some private differences and dislikes, which grew up in most places to the disturbance of the public affairs.

There was another result of council at Oxford, in this winter season, which deserves to be mentioned; and the rather, because all the inducements thereunto were not generally understood, nor known to many; and therefore grew afterwards to be the more censured. When the Scots were visibly armed, and upon their march into England, which the king was the last man in believing; and when there was no way to stop or divert them, his majesty was the better inclined to hearken to some men of that nation, who had been long proposing a way to give them so much trouble at home, that they should not be at leisure to infest or trouble their neighbours; to which propositions less care had been given, out of too much confidence in persons,[1] upon whose integrity or interest there had been too great a dependence. The earl of Mountrose, a young man of a great spirit, and of the most ancient nobility, had been one of the most principal and active covenanters in the beginning of the troubles; but soon after, upon his observation of the unwarrantable prosecution of it, he gave over that party, and his command in that army; and at the king's being in Scotland, after the pacification, had made full tender of his service to his majesty; and was so much in the jealousy and detestation of the violent party, whereof the earl of Argyle was the head, that there was no cause or room left to doubt his sincerity to the king.

Upon the beginning of the parliament at Edinburgh, and the manifestation that duke Hamilton would give no opposition to the proceedings thereof, (as hath been mentioned before,) he privately withdrew out of Scotland, and came to the king few days before the siege was raised from Gloucester, and gave his majesty the first clear information of the car-

[1] Hamilton and his brother; who, notwithstanding all Burnet says in their behalf, were certainly a couple of knaves.—W.

riage and behaviour of duke Hamilton, and of the posture that kingdom would speedily be in, and of the resolutions that would be there taken; and made some smart propositions to the king for the remedy;[1] which there was not then time to consult: but as soon as the king retired to Oxford, after the battle of Newbury, and had fuller intelligence, by the resort of others of that nobility who deserved to be trusted, how the affairs stood in Scotland; and heard that duke Hamilton, and his brother, the earl of Lanrick, were upon their way as far as York towards Oxford; his majesty was very willing to hearken to the earl of Mountrose, and the rest, what could be done to prevent that mischief that was like to ensue. But they all unanimously declared, "that they durst make no propositions for the advancement of the king's service, except they might be first assured, that no part of it should be communicated to duke Hamilton; nor he suffered to have any part or share in any action that should depend upon it; for that they were most assured that he had always betrayed his majesty; and that it had been absolutely in his power to have prevented this new combination, if he would resolutely have opposed it. But if they might be secure in that particular, they would make some attempt under his majesty's commission in their own country, as might possibly make some disturbance there." His majesty thought he had much less reason to be confident of the duke than formerly; for he had expressly failed of doing somewhat which he had promised to do; yet he thought he had not ground enough to withdraw all kind of trust from him, except he did, at the same time, secure him from being able to do him further mischief; towards which kind of severity, he did not think he had evidence enough. Besides he had a very good opinion of the earl of Lanrick, as a man of much more plainness and sincerity than his brother; as in truth he was. That he might bring himself to a full resolution in this important affair, his majesty appointed the lord keeper, his two secretaries, the master of the rolls, and the chancellor

[1] I suppose either for the imprisonment or the taking off certain persons.—W.

of the exchequer, to examine the earl of Mountrose, the earl of Kinnoul, the lord Ogilby, and some others, upon oath, of all things they could accuse duke Hamilton, or his brother Lanrick of; and to take their examinations in writing; that so his majesty might discover, whether their errors proceeded from infidelity, and consider the better, what course to observe in his proceedings with them; and this was carried with as much secresy, as an affair of that nature could be, wherein so many were trusted.

Upon their examination, there appeared too much cause to conclude, that the duke had not behaved himself with that loyalty as he ought to have done. The earl of Mountrose, whilst he had been of that party, had been privy to much of his correspondence and intelligence. But most of the particulars related to the time when he commanded the fleet in the Frith, and when he had many conferences with his mother, (who was a woman most passionate in those contrivances,) and with others of that party; and when he did nothing to hurt or incommodate the enemy; all which was expressly pardoned by the act of oblivion, which had been passed with all formality and solemnity by the king in the parliament of both kingdoms: and, so much as to question what was so forgot, might raise a greater fire, than that which they desired to quench; though the knowing so many particulars might be a good and proper caution. In the late transactions of Scotland, it was manifest that the duke had absolutely opposed all overtures of force, and for seizing those persons who could only be able to raise new troubles; which had been very easy to have done; and that he had betrayed the king, and all the lords, in consenting to the meeting of the parliament, called and summoned against the king's express pleasure and command, and without any pretence of law. And to this, the king's approbation and consent had been shewed to them, by the duke, under the king's own hand; which they durst not disobey, though they foresaw this mischief.

The case was this; the duke had given the king an account, after he had himself promised the king that the parliament should never be assembled, (which his majesty ab-

horred,) "that though some few hot and passionate men desired to put themselves in arms, to stop both elections of the members, and any meeting together in parliament; yet, that all sober men who could bear any considerable part in the action, were clearly of the opinion, to take as much pains as they could to cause good elections to be made, and then to appear themselves; and that they had hope to have such a major part, that they might more advantageously dissolve the meeting as soon as they came together, than prevent it; however, that then would be the fit time to protest against it, and immediately to put themselves into arms, for which they would be well provided at the same time;" and to this state he desired the king's positive direction. And his majesty, in answer to it, had said, "since it was the opinion of all his friends, he would not command them to do that which was against their judgment; but would attend the success; and was content that they should all appear in the parliament at its first meeting:" and the duke had shewed the lords those words in the king's letter, with which they acquiesced, without knowing any thing of the ground of such his permission: whereas, in truth, there was no one person who was of that opinion, or had given that counsel, but had still detested the expedient when proposed.

Then the duke's carriage in the parliament, and his brother's, at their first coming together, appeared to be as is set down before, by the testimony of those who were present; and the earl of Lanrick's applying the signet to the proclamation for that rendezvous where the army was to be compounded, was not thought capable of any excuse; and so the clear state of the evidence, upon the depositions of the persons examined, was presented to the king for his own determination. His majesty had some thoughts of sending to the marquis of Newcastle to stop the duke and his brother at York, and not suffer them to come nearer; but whilst that was in deliberation, they both came to Oxford, and meant the same night to have kissed their majesties' hands; but as soon as they arrived, they received a command from the king, "to keep their chambers;" and had a guard attended them. The king resolved to consult the whole affair then

with the council-board, whereas hitherto the examinations had been taken by a committee, to the end that he might resolve what way to proceed; and to that end directed that a transcript might be prepared, of all the examinations at large; and that the witnesses might be ready to appear before the board, if it should be thought necessary; his majesty at that time inclining to have both the lords present, and the depositions read, and the witnesses confronted before them. But whilst this was preparing, the second morning after their coming to the town, the earl of Lanrick, either having corrupted or deluded the guard, found a means to escape; and by the assistance of one Cunningham (a gentleman of the privy-chamber, and of that nation) had horses ready; with which the earl and his friend fled, and went directly to London; where he was very well received. Hereupon the king informed the board of the whole affair; and because one of them was escaped, and the matters against the other having been transacted in Scotland, and so, in many respects, it was not a season to proceed judicially against him, it was thought enough for the present to prevent his doing further mischief, by putting him under a secure restraint: and so he was sent in custody to the castle at Bristol, and from thence to Exeter, and so to the castle at Pendennis in Cornwall; where we shall leave him.

About this time the councils at Westminster lost a principal supporter, by the death of Jo. Pym; who died with great torment and agony of a disease unusual, and therefore the more spoken of, *morbus pediculosus*, as was reported; which rendered him an object very loathsome to those who had been most delighted with him. No man had more to answer for the miseries of the kingdom, or had his hand, or head, deeper in their contrivance. And yet, I believe, they grew much higher even in his life, than he designed. He was a man of a private quality and condition of life; his education in the office of the exchequer, where he had been a clerk; and his parts rather acquired by industry, than supplied by nature, or adorned by art. He had been well known in former parliaments; and was one of those few, who had sat in many; the long intermission of parliaments

having worn out most of those who had been acquainted with the rules and orders observed in those conventions. And this gave him some reputation and reverence amongst those who were but now introduced.

He had been most taken notice of, for being concerned and passionate in the jealousies of religion, and much troubled with the countenance which had been given to those opinions that had been imputed to Arminius; and this gave him great authority and interest with those who were not pleased with the government of the church, or the growing power of the clergy: yet himself industriously took care to be believed, and he professed to be very entire to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England. In the short parliament before this, he spoke much, and appeared to be the most leading man; for besides the exact knowledge of the forms, and orders of that council, which few men had, he had a very comely and grave way of expressing himself, with great volubility of words, natural and proper; and understood the temper and affections of the kingdom as well as any man; and had observed the errors and mistakes in government; and knew well how to make them appear greater than they were. After the unhappy dissolution of that parliament, he continued for the most part about London, in conversation and great repute amongst those lords who were most strangers to the court, and were believed most averse to it; in whom he improved all imaginable jealousies and discontents towards the state; and as soon as this parliament was resolved to be summoned, he was as diligent to procure such persons to be elected as he knew to be most inclined to the way he meant to take.

At the first opening of this parliament, he appeared passionate and prepared against the earl of Strafford; and though in private designing he was much governed by Mr. Hambden, and Mr. Saint-John, yet he seemed to all men to have the greatest influence upon the house of commons of any man; and, in truth, I think he was at that time, and for some months after, the most popular man, and the most able to do hurt, that hath lived in any time. Upon the first de-

sign of softening and obliging the powerful persons in both houses, when it was resolved to make the earl of Bedford lord high treasurer of England, the king likewise intended to make Mr. Pym chancellor of the exchequer; for which he received his majesty's promise, and made a return of a suitable profession of his service and devotion; and thereupon, the other being no secret, somewhat declined from that sharpness in the house, which was more popular than any man's, and made some overtures to provide for the glory and splendour of the crown; in which he had so ill success, that his interest and reputation there visibly abated; and he found that he was much better able to do hurt than good; which wrought very much upon him to melancholy, and complaint of the violence and discomposure of the people's affections and inclinations. In the end, whether upon the death of the earl of Bedford he despaired of that preferment, or whether he was guilty of any thing, which, upon his conversion to the court, he thought might be discovered to his damage, or for pure want of courage,[1] he suffered himself to be carried by those who would not follow him, and so continued in the head of those who made the most desperate propositions.

In the prosecution of the earl of Strafford, his carriage and language was such that expressed much personal animosity; and he was accused of having practised some arts in it not worthy a good man; as an Irishman of very mean and low condition afterwards acknowledged, that being brought to him, as an evidence of one part of the charge against the lord lieutenant, in a particular of which a person of so vile quality would not be reasonably thought a competent informer; Mr. Pym gave him money to buy him a satin suit and cloak; in which equipage he appeared at the trial, and gave his evidence; which, if true, may make many other things, which were confidently reported afterwards of him,

[1] i. e. to disserve than serve the court. He had raised a spirit against it which he could not lay. Why should the historian seek for more reasons than that first given?—the necessity of returning to his party, to preserve his consequence in parliament.—W.

to be believed; as that he received a great sum of money from the French ambassador, to hinder the transportation of those regiments of Ireland into Flanders, upon the disbanding that army there; which had been prepared by the earl of Strafford for the business of Scotland; in which if his majesty's directions and commands had not been diverted and contradicted by the houses, many do believe the rebellion in Ireland had not happened.

Certain it is, that his power of doing shrewd turns was extraordinary, and no less in doing good offices for particular persons; and that he did preserve many from censure, who were under the severe displeasure of the houses, and looked upon as eminent delinquents; and the quality of many of them[1] made it believed, that he had sold that protection for valuable considerations. From the time of his being accused of high treason by the king, with the lord Kimbolton, and the other members, he never entertained thoughts of moderation, but always opposed all overtures of peace and accommodation, and when the earl of Essex was disposed, the last summer, by those lords to an inclination towards a treaty, as is before remembered, Mr. Pym's power and dexterity wholly changed him, and wrought him to that temper, which he afterwards swerved not from. He was wonderfully solicitous for the Scots coming in to their assistance, though his indisposition of body was so great, that it might well have made another impression upon his mind. During his sickness, he was a very sad spectacle; but none being admitted to him who had not concurred with him, it is not known what his last thoughts and considerations were. He died towards the end of December, before the Scots entered; and was buried with wonderful pomp and magnificence, in that place where the bones of our English kings and princes are committed to their rest.

The arrival of the prince elector at London was no less the discourse of all tongues, than the death of Mr. Pym. He had been in England before the troubles, and received and

[1] As that of lord keeper Finch.---W.

cherished by the king with great demonstration of grace and kindness, and supplied with a pension of twelve thousand pounds sterling yearly. When the king left London, he attended his majesty to York, and resided there with him till the differences grew so high, that his majesty found it necessary to resolve to raise an army for his defence. Then, on the sudden, without giving the king many days' notice of his resolution, that prince elector left the court; and taking the opportunity of an ordinary vessel, embarked himself for Holland, to the wonder of all men; who thought it an unseasonable declaration of his fear at least of the parliament, and his desire of being well esteemed by them, when it was evident they esteemed not the king as they should. And this was the more spoken of, when it was afterwards known that the parliament expressed a good sense of his having deserted the king, and imputed it to his conscience, "that he knew of some such designs of his majesty, as he could not comply with." At this time, after many loud discourses of his coming, (which were derived to Oxford, as somewhat that might have an influence upon his majesty's counsels, there being then several whispers of some high proceedings they intended against the king,)[1] he arrived at London, and was received with ceremony; lodged in Whitehall, and order taken for the payment of that pension which had been formerly assigned to him by his majesty; and a particular direction by both houses, "that he should be admitted to sit in the assembly of divines;" where, after he had taken the covenant, he was contented to be often present: of all which the king took no other notice, than sometimes to express, "that he was sorry on his nephew's behalf, that he thought fit to declare such a compliance."

The defeat of colonel John Bellasis at Selby by sir Thomas Fairfax, and the destruction of all the Irish regiments under the lord Byron, together with the terror of the Scots army, had so let loose all the king's enemies in the northern

[1] The elector was in hopes that the parliament would set aside the king and his children, and give the crown to him as next heir.---W.

parts, which were lately at the king's devotion, that his friends were in great distress in all places before the season was ripe to take the field. The earl of Derby, who had kept Lancashire in reasonable subjection, and enclosed all the enemies of that county within the town of Manchester, was no longer able to continue that restraint, but forced to place himself at a greater distance from them; which was like, in a short time, to increase the number of the rebels there. Newark, a very necessary garrison in the county of Nottingham, had not only subjected that little county, the town of Nottingham only excepted, which was upon the matter confined within its own walls, but kept a great part of the large county of Lincoln under contribution, was now reduced to so great straits by the forces of that country, under the command of Meldrum a Scotchman, with addition of others from Hull, that they were compelled to beg relief from the king at Oxford; whilst the marquis of Newcastle had enough to do to keep the Scots at a bay, and to put York in a condition to endure a siege, if he should be forced to continue within those walls.

In these straits, though it was yet the depth of winter, and to provide the better for the security of Shrewsbury, and Chester, and North Wales, all which were terrified with the defeat of the lord Byron, the king found it necessary to send prince Rupert, with a good body of chosen horse, and dragoons, and some foot, with direction, after he had visited Shrewsbury and Chester, and used all possible endeavours to make new levies, that he should attempt the relief of Newark: which, being lost, would cut off all possible communication between Oxford and York. The year (*namely* 1643–4) ended with an action very prosperous to the king. It is remembered, that upon the marquis of Newcastle's advancing towards the Scots, and the success of sir Thomas Fairfax before Nantwich, the enemy increased very much their strength in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and those counties, insomuch as sir Jo. Meldrum, with a good body of horse and foot out of Lincolnshire, and the associated counties, sat down before Newark, where the garrison consisted most of

the gentry of the county, and the inhabitants, ill supplied with any thing requisite to a siege, but courage and excellent affections. The enemy intrenched themselves before the town, and proceeded by approach; conceiving they had time enough, and not apprehending it possible to be disturbed: and indeed it was not easy for the king to find a way for their relief. To send a body from Oxford was very hazardous, and the enemy so strong, as they would quickly follow; so that there was no hope but from Shrewsbury and Chester, where prince Rupert had given so much life to those parts, and drawn so handsome a body together, that the enemy found little advantage by their late victory, in the enlargement of their quarters. So that his highness resolved to try what he could do for Newark, and undertook it before he was ready for it, and thereby performed it. For the enemy, who had always excellent intelligence, was so confident that he had not a strength sufficient to attempt that work, that he was within six miles of them, before they believed he thought of them; and charging and routing some of their horse,[1] pursued them with that expedition, that he besieged them in their own intrenchment, with his horse, before his foot came within four miles. And in that consternation, they concluding that he must have a vast power and strength, to bring them into those straits, he, with a number inferior to the enemy, and utterly unaccommodated for an action of time, brought them to accept of leave to depart, that is to disband, without their arms, or any carriage or baggage. And so he relieved Newark, and took above four thousand arms, eleven pieces of brass cannon, two mortar pieces, and above fifty barrels of powder; which was a victory as pro-

[1] It appears, by a MS. I have seen of this affair, written by an eye-witness from the steeple of the church, that the prince was obliged to charge and retire several times before he could break them. The action was within half a mile of the town, on the east side. The parliament forces were drawn up in a plain between the town and a hill, called Beacon-hill. On the top of which the prince formed, and from thence charged the enemy.---W.

digious, as any happened throughout the war: and with this prosperous action, which was performed on the 22d of March, we shall conclude the transactions of this year.

THE HISTORY

OF THE REBELLION, &c.

BOOK VIII.

Arundel castle surrendered to the lord Hopton: It is retaken by sir William Waller—The battle at Alresford, where sir William Waller had the advantage over the lord Hopton, (March 29)—The association of several counties formed under the earl of Manchester—The earl of Manchester is ordered with his army to march into the north to join the Scots—The queen retires from Oxford to Exeter—The parliament at Oxford prorogued to October—The persons with whom the king consulted in his military affairs at this time—Reading quitted by the king's forces—Abingdon quitted by the king's forces—Possessed by the earl of Essex—The earl of Essex marches towards the west: Waller towards Worcester, after the king—Weymouth delivered to the earl of Essex—Lyme relieved by him——The fight at Cropredy-bridge—The king marches towards the west—An account of the battle of Marston-moor—York delivered to the parliament forces—The queen retires into France—The earl of Essex marches into Cornwall—The king follows him thither—Balfour with the Earl of Essex's horse, escapes through the king's army—The Earl of Essex leaves his army, and escapes to Plymouth by sea—Skippon makes conditions for the foot—Affairs at Oxford during the king's absence—Colonel Gage relieves Basing-house——The king sends a message of peace—The king leaves sir Richard Greenvil to block up Plymouth—Banbury castle relieved by the earl of Northampton—The second battle of Newbury—The king relieves Donnington-castle—The king returns to Oxford—The temper of the army and court at this time—Propositions from Ireland rejected by the king—A council settled for the prince of Wales—Divisions amongst those at Westminster—After a fast-day, Vane and Cromwell proposed a self-denying ordinance—Sir Thomas

Fairfax is proposed in the house of commons to be made their general—The duke of Richmond and the earl of Southampton sent to London with a message for a treaty—The trial of the archbishop of Canterbury—He is condemned by an ordinance—The archbishop beheaded—The two houses agree to a treaty at Uxbridge—The king accepts it—The treaty at Uxbridge—First of religion—Secondly of the militia—Thirdly of Ireland—The end of the treaty without effect—The prince of Wales made general of the king's forces, and of the western association—The self-denying ordinance passes the commons—An account of the earl of Mountrose's expedition into Scotland—The earl of Mountrose goes privately into Scotland, and raises an army; and has great success—Sir John Hotham and his son tried at a court of war: both are condemned, and beheaded—The prince of Wales sent by the king to reside at Bristol.

THESE were the civil preparations and conclusions on both sides. In the mean time both the king's army and the earl of Essex were contented to refresh themselves in their winter quarters without any notable engagement, both preparing the best they could for the spring, and to be early ready for the field; yet the winter passed not without action;[1] the great preparation that was made at London, and the fame of sending sir William Waller into the west, put the king upon the resolution of having such a body in his way, as might give him interruption, without prince Maurice's being disturbed in his siege of Plymouth; which was not thought to be able to make long resistance. To this purpose the lord Hopton was appointed to command an army apart, to be levied out of the garrison of Bristol, and those western counties adjacent newly reduced; and where his reputation and interest was very great; by which he had in a short time raised a pretty body of foot and horse; the which receiving an addition of two very good regiments (though not many in number) out of Munster, under the command of sir Charles Vavasour, and sir John Pawlet, and a good troop of horse

[1] The actions of the army in this and the following book, in the campaigns of 1644-5, are chiefly taken from sir Edward Walker's Discourses; that is, the whole of Walker's Discourses are taken in.—W.

under the command of captain Bridges, all which had been transported, according to former orders, out of Ireland to Bristol, since the cessation, the lord Hopton advanced to Salisbury, and shortly after to Winchester; whither sir John Berkley brought him two regiments more of foot, raised by him in Devonshire; so that he had in all, at least, three thousand foot, and about fifteen hundred horse; which, in so good a post as Winchester was, would in a short time have grown to a pretty army; and was at present strong enough to have stopped, or attended Waller in his western expedition;[1] nor did he expect to have found such an obstruction in his way. And therefore, when he was upon his march, and was informed of the lord Hopton's being at Winchester with such a strength, he retired to Farnham; and quartered there, till he gave his masters an account that he wanted other supplies.

It was a general misfortune, and miscomputation of that time, that the party, in all places, which wished well to the king, (which consisted of most of the gentry in most counties; and for the present were awed and kept under by the militia, and other committees of parliament,) had so good an opinion of their own reputation and interest, that they believed they were able, upon the assistance of few troops, to suppress their neighbours who were of the other party, and who, upon the advantage of the power they were possessed of, exercised their authority over them with great rigour and insolence. And so the lord Hopton was no sooner possessed of Winchester, where sir William Ogle had likewise seized upon the castle for the king, and put it into a tenable condition, than the gentlemen of Sussex, and of the adjacent parts of Hampshire, sent privately to him, "that if he would advance into their country, they would undertake, in a short time, to make great levies of men for the recruit of his army; and likewise to possess themselves of such places as they

[1] Here was a rational *plan* well laid, and successfully entered upon; yet, without rhyme or reason, it was forsaken to pursue a *project*. The truth is, the parliament commanders always out-generaled the king's.—W.

would be well able to defend; and thereby keep that part of the country in the king's obedience."

Sir Edward Ford, a gentleman of a good family, and fair fortune in Sussex, had then a regiment of horse in the lord Hopton's troops, and the king had made him high sheriff of Sussex that year, to the end that, if there were occasion, he might the better make impression upon that county. He had with him, in his regiment, many of the gentlemen of that country of good quality: and they all besought the lord Hopton, "that he would, since Waller was not like to advance, at least send some troops into those parts, to give a little countenance to the levies they should be well able to make;" assuring him, "that they would, in the first place, seize upon Arundel castle; which, standing upon the sea, would yield great advantage to the king's service, and keep that rich corner of the country at his majesty's devotion." These, and many other specious undertakings, disposed the lord Hopton, who had an extraordinary appetite to engage Waller in a battle, upon old accounts, to wish himself at liberty to comply with those gentlemen's desires: of all which, he gave such an account to the king, as made it appear, that he liked the design, and thought it practicable, if he had an addition of a regiment or two of foot, under good officers; for that quarter of Sussex, which he meant to visit, was a fast and enclosed country, and Arundel castle had a garrison in it, though not numerous, or well provided, as being without apprehension of an enemy.

It was about Christmas, and the king had no further design for the winter, than to keep Waller from visiting and disturbing the west, and to recruit his army to such a degree as to be able to take the field early; which he knew the rebels resolved to do: yet the good post the lord Hopton was already possessed of at Winchester, and these positive undertakings from Sussex, wrought upon many to think, that this opportunity should not be lost. The king had great assurance of the general good affections of the county of Kent; insomuch as the people had with difficulty been restrained from making some attempt, upon the confidence of their own strength; and if there could be now such a foundation laid,

that there might be a conjunction between that and Sussex, it might produce an association little inferior to that of the southern counties under the earl of Manchester; and might, by the spring, be argument of that distraction to the parliament, that they might not well know to what part to dispose their armies; and the king might apply his own to that part and purpose, as should seem most reasonable to him.

These and other reasons prevailed, and the king gave the lord Hopton order to prosecute his design upon Sussex, in such manner as he thought fit; provided, that he was well assured, that Waller should not make advantage, upon that enterprise, to find the way open to him to march into the west. And that he might be the better able to prosecute the one, and to provide for the other, sir Jacob Astley was likewise sent to him from Reading, with a thousand commanded men of that garrison, Wallingford, and Oxford; which supply no sooner arrived at Winchester, but the lord Hopton resolved to visit Waller's quarters, if it were possible to engage him; however that he might judge by the posture he was in, whether he were like to pursue his purpose for the west. Waller was then quartered at Farnham, and the villages adjacent, from whence he drew out his men, and faced the enemy, as if he intended to fight, but, after some light skirmishes for a day or two, in which he always received loss, he retired himself into the castle of Farnham, a place of great strength; and drew his army into the town; and, within three or four days, went himself to London, more effectually to solicit recruits, than his letters had been able to do.

When the lord Hopton saw that he could attempt no further upon the troops, and was fully assured that sir William Waller was himself gone to London, he concluded, that it was a good time to comply with the importunity of the gentlemen of Sussex; and marched thither, with such a body of horse and foot, as he thought competent for the service. And the exceeding hard frost made his march more easy through those deep dirty ways, than better weather would have done; and he came to Arundel before there was any imagination that he had that place in his prospect. The place

in its situation was very strong; and though the fortifications were not regular, but of the old fashion, yet the walls were very strong, and the graff broad, and deep; and though the garrison was not numerous enough to have defended all the large circuit against a powerful army, yet it was strong enough, in all respects, to have defied all assaults; and might, without putting themselves to any trouble, have been very secure against the attempts of those without. But the provisions of victual, or ammunition, was not sufficient to have endured any long restraint; and the officer who commanded had not been accustomed to the prospect of an enemy. And so upon an easy and short summons, that threatened his obstinacy with a very rigorous chastisement, if he should defer the giving it up; either from the effect of his own fear, and want of courage, or from the good inclinations of some of the soldiers, the castle was surrendered the third day; and appeared to be a place more worth the keeping, and capable, in a short time, to be made secure against a good army.

The lord Hopton, after he had stayed there five or six days, and caused provisions of all kinds to be brought in, committed the command and government thereof to sir Edward Ford, high sheriff of the county, with a garrison of above two hundred men; besides many good officers; who desired, or were very willing, to stay; as a place very favourable for the making levies of men, which they all intended. And, it may be, the more remained there, out of the weariness and fatigue of their late marches, and that they might spend the remainder of the winter with better accommodation.

The news of sir William Waller's return to Farnham with strong recruits of horse and foot, made it necessary to the lord Hopton to leave Arundel castle before he had put it into the good posture he intended. And, without well considering the mixture of the men he left there, whereof many were of insolent and pragmatical natures, not like to conform themselves to those strict rules as the condition of the place required, or to use that industry, as the exigence, they were like to be in, made necessary, the principal thing he recom-

mended and enjoined to them was, "in the first place, setting all other things aside, to draw in store of provisions of all kinds, both for the numbers they were already, and for such as would probably in a short time be added to them;" all which, from the great plenty that country then abounded in, was very easy to have been done. And if it had been done, that place would have remained long such a thorn in the side of the parliament, as would have rendered it very uneasy to them, at least have interrupted the current of their prosperity.

Waller's journey to London answered his expectation; and his presence had an extraordinary operation, to procure any thing desired. He reported the lord Hopton's forces to be much greater than they were, that his own might be made proportionable to encounter them. And the quick progress he had made in Sussex, and his taking Arundel castle, made them thought to be greater than he reported them to be. He so easily possessing himself of a place of that strength, which they supposed to have been impregnable, and in a county where the king had before no footing, awakened all their jealousies and apprehensions of the affections of Kent, and all other places; and looked like a land-flood, that might roll they knew not how far; so that there needed no importunate solicitation to provide a remedy against this growing evil. The ordinary method they had used for recruiting their armies by levies of volunteers, and persuading the apprentices of the city to become soldiers, upon the privilege they gave them for their freedom, for the time they fought for them, as if they remained in their master's service, was now too dull and lazy an expedient to resist this torrent; they therefore resort to their inexhaustible magazine of men, their devoted city, to whose affections the person of sir William Waller was most acceptable; and persuaded them immediately to cause two of their strongest regiments of auxiliaries, to march out of the line to Farnham; which they consented to. And then they appointed the earl of Essex to give his orders to sir William Balfour, with one thousand of the horse of his army, likewise to observe Waller's commands; who, with this great addition of forces,

made haste to his other troops at Farnham; where he scarce rested, but after he had informed himself how the lord Hopton's army lay quartered, which was at too great a distance from each other, he marched, according to his custom in those occasions, (as beating up of quarters was his master-piece,) all the night; and, by the break of day, encompassed a great village called Alton, where a troop or two of horse, and a regiment of foot of the king's lay in too much security.[1] However, the horse took the alarm quickly, and for the most part made their escape to Winchester, the head quarter; whither the lord Hopton was returned but the night before from Arundel. Colonel Boles, who commanded his own regiment of foot there, consisting of about five hundred men, which had been drawn out of the garrison of Wallingford, when he found himself encompassed by the enemy's army of horse and foot, saw he could not defend himself, or make other resistance than by retiring with his men into the church, which he hoped to maintain for so many hours, that relief might be sent to him; but he had not time to barricado the doors; so that the enemy entered almost as soon; and after a short resistance, in which many were killed, the soldiers, overpowered, threw down their arms, and asked quarter; which was likewise offered to the colonel; who refused it, and valiantly defended himself, till, with the death of two or three of the assailants, he was killed in the place; his enemies giving him a testimony of great courage and resolution.

Waller knew well the impression the loss of this very good regiment would make upon the lord Hopton's forces, and that the report which the troops of horse which had escaped would make, would add nothing of courage to their fellows; so that there was no probability that they would make haste to advance; and therefore, with wonderful celerity, the hard frost continuing, he marched with all his army to Arundel castle, where he found that garrison as unprovided as he could wish. And, instead of increasing the ma-

[1] So that while the general was on his Sussex *project*, no part of his plan, he left his army to have their quarters beaten up, by their not being at proper distances to relieve one another.---W.

gazine of victual by supplies from the country, they had spent much of that store which the lord Hopton had provided. The governor was a man of honesty and courage,[1] but unacquainted with that affair, having no other experience in war, than what he had learned since these troubles. The officers were many without command, amongst whom one colonel Bamford, an Irishman, though he called himself Bamfield, was one; who, being a man of wit and parts, applied all his faculties to improve the faction, to which they were all naturally inclined, with a hope to make himself governor. In this distraction Waller found them, and by some of the soldiers running out to him, he found means again to send in to them; and so increased their faction and animosity against one another, that, after he had kept them waking, with continual alarms, three or four days, near half the men being sick, and unable to do duty, rather than they would trust each other longer, they gave the place and themselves up as prisoners of war upon quarter; the place being able to have defended itself against all that power, for a much longer time. Here the learned and eminent Mr. Chillingworth was taken prisoner; who, out of kindness and respect to the lord Hopton, had accompanied him in that march; and, being indisposed by the terrible coldness of the season, chose to repose himself in that garrison, till the weather should mend. As soon as his person was known, which would have drawn reverence from any noble enemy, the clergy that attended that army prosecuted him with all the inhumanity imaginable;[2] so that, by their barbarous usage, he died within few days; to the grief of all that knew him,

[1] The high sheriff. It was not out of such that the parliament made their governors of places, but out of old soldiers of fortune. Here was no want of such, for the historian tells, many were without command in this very place.---W.

[2] Indeed most villanously, as appears from the very book which a fanatic wretch, one Cheynel, who was at the head of the persecutors, wrote upon that occasion, yet extant; which being lent (as a curiosity) to Mr. Locke, to shew him the villanous spirit of this fanatic, the great philosopher returned it, with this character of the performance. See Locke's Works, vol. iii. p. 731.—W.

and of many who knew him not but by his book, and the reputation he had with learned men.

The lord Hopton sustained the loss of this regiment with extraordinary trouble of mind, and as a wound that would bleed inward; and therefore was the more inflamed with desire of a battle with Waller, to make even all accounts; and made what haste he could, upon the first advertisement, to have redeemed that misfortune; and hoped to have come time enough to have relieved Arundel castle; which he never suspected would so tamely have given themselves up: but that hope quickly vanished, upon the undoubted intelligence of that surrender, and the news that Waller was returned with a full resolution to prosecute his design upon the west: to which, besides the encouragement of his two late victories, with which he was marvellously elated, he was in some degree necessitated, out of apprehension that the horse, which belonged to the earl of Essex's army, might be speedily recalled; and the time would be quickly expired, that he had promised the auxiliary regiments of London that he would dismiss them.

Upon the news the king received of the great supply the parliament had so suddenly sent to Waller, both from the earl of Essex's army, and from the city, he thought it necessary to send such an addition of foot as he could draw out of Oxford, and the neighbour garrisons. And the earl of Brentford, general of the army, who had a fast friendship with the lord Hopton, expressing a good inclination to make him a visit, rather than to sit still in his winter quarters, his majesty very glad, and cherished that disposition, and was desirous that so great an officer might be present in an army, upon which so much of his hopes depended; and which did not abound with officers of great experience. And so the general, with such volunteers as were ready to accompany him, went to Winchester; where he found the lord Hopton in agony for the loss of the regiment of foot at Alton, and confounded with the unexpected assurance of the giving up of Arundel castle. He was exceedingly revived with the presence of the general, and desired to receive his orders, and that he would take upon him the absolute com-

mand of the troops; which he as positively refused to do; only offered to keep him company in all expeditions, and to give him the best assistance he was able; which the lord Hopton was compelled to be contented with: nor could there be a greater union and consent between two friends; the general being ready to give his advice upon all particulars; and the other doing nothing without communication with him, and then conforming to his opinion, and giving orders accordingly.

As soon as they were informed that Waller had drawn all his troops together about Farnham, and meant to march towards them, they cheerfully embraced the occasion, and went to meet him; and about Alresford, near the midway between Winchester and Farnham, they came to know how near they were to each other;[1] and being in view, chose the ground upon which they meant the battle should be fought; of which Waller, being first there, got the advantage for the drawing up his horse. The king's army consisted of about five thousand foot, and three thousand horse; and Waller, with sir William Balfour, exceeded in horse; but they were upon the matter equal in foot; with this only advantage, that both his horse and foot were, as they were always, much better armed; no man wanting any weapon, offensive or defensive, that was proper for him; and sir Arthur Haslerig's regiment of cuirassiers, called the *lobsters*, was so formidable, that the king's naked and unarmed troops, among which few were better armed than with swords, could not bear their impression.

The king's horse never behaved themselves so ill as that day. For the main body of them, after they had sustained one fierce charge, wheeled about to an unreasonable distance, and left their principal officers to shift for themselves. The foot behaved themselves very gallantly, and had not only the better of the other foot, but bore two or three charges

[1] From these words one may fairly conclude the king's army was surprised; though the words would intimate that both armies stumbled upon one another. But his account of Waller's disposition shews the contrary.—W.

from the horse with notable courage, and without being broken: whilst those horse, which stood upon the field, and should have assisted them, could be persuaded but to stand. When the evening drew near, for the approach whereof neither party was sorry, the lord Hopton thought it necessary to leave the field; and drawing off his men, and carrying with him many of the wounded, he retired with all his cannon and ammunition, whereof he lost none, that night to Reading: the enemy being so scattered, that they had no mind to pursue; only Waller himself made haste to Winchester, where he thought, upon this success, to have been immediately admitted into that castle; which was his own inheritance. But he found that too well defended; and so returned with taking revenge upon the city, by plundering it with all the insolence and rapine imaginable.

There could not then be any other estimate made of the loss Waller sustained, than by the not pursuing the visible advantage he had, and by the utter refusal of the auxiliary regiments of London and Kent to march further; and within three or four days they left him, and returned to their habitations, with great lamentation of their friends who were missing. On the king's side, besides common men, and many good officers, there fell that day the lord John Stewart, brother to the duke of Richmond, and general of the horse of that army; and sir John Smith, brother to the lord Carrington, and commissary general of the horse. They were both brought off the field by the few horse that stayed with them, and did their duty; and carried to Reading; and the next day to Abingdon, that they might be nearer to the assistance of the best remedies by physicians and surgeons. But they lived only to the second dressing of their wounds, which were very many upon either of them.

The former was a young man of extraordinary hope, little more than one and twenty years of age; who, being of a more choleric and rough nature than the other branches of that illustrious and princely family, was not delighted with the softnesses of the court, but had dedicated himself to the profession of arms, when he did not think the scene should have been in his own country. His courage was so signal

that day, that too much could not be expected from it, if he had outlived it; and he was so generally beloved, that he could not but be very generally lamented. The other, sir John Smith, had been trained up from his youth in the war of Flanders; being of an ancient catholic family; and had long the reputation of one of the best officers of horse. As soon as the first troubles appeared in Scotland, he betook himself to the service of his own prince; and, from the beginning of the war to his own end, performed many signal actions of courage. And the death of these two eminent officers made the names of many who perished that day the less inquired into and mentioned.

This battle was fought the 29th day of March; which was a very doleful entering into the beginning of the year 1644, and broke all the measures, and altered the whole scheme, of the king's counsels:[1] for whereas before, he hoped to have entered the field early, and to have acted an offensive part; he now discerned he was wholly to be upon the defensive part; and that was like to be a very hard part too. For he found, within very few days after, that he was not only deprived of the men he had lost at Alresford, but that he was not to expect any recruit of his army by a conjunction with prince Rupert; who, he believed, would have returned in time, after his great success at Newark, with a strong body both of horse and foot, from Shropshire, Cheshire, and North Wales: all which hopes were soon blasted; for the prince had scarce put the garrison of Newark in order, and provided it to endure another attack, which they might have reasonably expected upon his highness's departure, (though indeed the shame of the defeat, and the rage among the officers and soldiers, when they saw by what a handful of men they had been terrified and subdued, broke and dissolved that whole body within few days,) when he

[1] This the foolish project of the Sussex high sheriff accomplished. Had the scheme of Hopton's waiting for Waller been pursued, this latter could have got no recruits, and must have stopped at Farnham for some time, the west not being disturbed, and the king's army entire and in good order.—W.

received great instance from the earl of Derby to come into Lancashire to relieve him, who was already besieged in his own strong house at Latham by a strong body, with whom he was not able to contend. And to dispose the prince the more willingly to undertake his relief, the earl made ample promises, "that within so many days after the siege should be raised, with any defeat to the enemy, he would advance his highness's levies with two thousand men, and supply him with a considerable sum of money." And the earl had likewise, by an express, made the same instance to the king at Oxford; from whence his majesty sent his permission and approbation to the prince, before his departure from Newark; hoping still that his highness would be able to despatch that service in Lancashire, and with the more notable recruits of men in those parts, be able to return to Oxford by the time that it would be necessary for his majesty to take the field. But within a short time he was disappointed of that expectation; for before the prince could finish his expedition into Lancashire, (which he did with wonderful gallantry; raised the siege at Latham with a great execution upon the enemy; and took two or three of their garrisons obstinately defended, and therefore with the greater slaughter,) the marquis of Newcastle was compelled to retire, with his whole army, within the walls of York. He had been well able to have defended himself against the numerous army of the Scots, and would have been glad to have been engaged with them;[1] but he found he had a worse enemy to deal with.

From the time that the ruling party of the parliament discerned that their general, the earl of Essex, would never serve their turn, or comply with all their desires, they resolved to have another army apart, that should be more at their devotion; and in the forming whereof, they would be sure to choose such officers, as would probably not only observe their orders, but have the same inclinations with them. Their pretence was, "that there were so many disaffected persons of the nobility, and principal gentry, in the counties

[1] If the marquis was so willing, he should have done it when he had nothing else to do; when the Scots first entered England.—W.

of Norfolk and Suffolk, that, if great care was not taken to prevent it, there might a body start up there for the king; which, upon the success of the marquis of Newcastle, whose arms then reached into Lincolnshire, might grow very formidable." For prevention whereof, they had formed an association between Essex, (a county, upon the influence of the earl of Warwick, and the power of his clergy, they most confided in,) Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, Bedford, and Huntington; in all which they had many persons of whose entire affections they were well assured; and, in most of them, there were few considerable persons who wished them ill. Of this association they had made the earl of Manchester general, to be subject only to their own commands, and independent upon the earl of Essex. And under him, they chose Oliver Cromwell to command their horse; and many other officers, who never intended to be subject again to the king, and avowed other principles in conscience and religion, than had been before publicly declared.

And to this general they gave order "to reside within that association; and to make levies of men, sufficient to keep those counties in obedience:" for at first they pretended no more. But, in the secret treaty made by sir Harry Vane with the Scots, they were bound, as soon as the Scots should enter into Yorkshire with their army, that a body of English horse, foot, and cannon, should be ready to assist them, commanded by their own officers, as a body apart: the Scots not then trusting their own great numbers, as equal to fight with the English. And from that time they were much more careful to raise, and liberally supply, and provide for that army under the earl of Manchester, than for the other under the earl of Essex. And now, according to their agreement, upon the Scots first entrance into Yorkshire, the earl of Manchester had likewise order to march with his whole body thither; having, for the most part, a committee of the parliament, whereof sir Harry Vane was one, with him; as there was another committee of the Scottish parliament always in that army; there being also now a committee of both kingdoms residing at London, for the carrying on the war.

The marquis of Newcastle, being thus pressed on both sides, was necessitated to draw all his army of foot and cannon into York, with some troops of horse; and sent the body of his horse, under the command of General Goring, to remain in those places he should find most convenient, and from whence he might best infest the enemy. And then sent an express to the king, to inform him of the condition he was in; and to let him know, "that he doubted not to defend himself in that post for the term of six weeks, or two months; in which time he hoped his majesty would find some way to relieve him." And upon receipt of this letter, the king sent orders to prince Rupert, that "as soon as he had relieved the lord Derby, and recruited, and refreshed his army, he should march, with what expedition he could, to relieve York; where being joined with the marquis of Newcastle's army, there was hope they might fight the enemy: and his majesty would put himself into as good a posture as he could to take the field, without expecting the prince."

All these ill accidents falling out successively in the winter, the king's condition appeared very sad; and which was in the more disorder by the queen's being now with child, which wrought upon her majesty's mind very much; and disposed her to so many fears and apprehensions of her safety, that she was very uneasy to herself. She heard every day "of the great forces raised, and in readiness, by the parliament, much greater than they yet ever had;" which was very true; and that they resolved, as soon as the season was ripe, which was at hand, to march all to Oxford." She could not endure to think of being besieged there; and, in conclusion, resolved not to stay there, but to go into the west; from whence, in any distress, she might be able to embark for France. Though there seemed reasons enough to dissuade her from that inclination, and his majesty heartily wished that she could be diverted, yet the perplexity of her mind was so great, and her fears so vehement, both improved by her indisposition of health, that all civility and reason obliged every body to submit. So, about the beginning of April, she begun her journey from Oxford to the west; and, by

moderate journeys, came well to Exeter; where she intended to stay till she was disburdened; for she was within little more than one month of her time; and, being in a place out of the reach of any alarm, she recovered her spirits to a reasonable convalescence.

It was now about the middle of April,[1] when it concerned the king with all possible sagacity, to foresee what probably the parliament meant to attempt with those vast numbers of men which they every day levied; and thereupon to conclude, what it would be possible for his majesty to do, in those exigencies to which he was like to be reduced. The intelligence, that Waller was still designed for the western expedition, made the king appoint his whole army to be drawn together to a rendezvous at Marlborough; where himself was present, and, to his great satisfaction, found the body to consist, after all the losses and misadventures, of no less than six thousand foot, and above four thousand horse. There that body remained for some weeks, to watch and intend Waller's motion, and to fight with him as soon as was possible. Many things were there consulted for the future; and the quitting Reading, and some other garrisons, proposed, for the increasing the field forces: yet nothing was positively resolved, but to expect clearer evidence what the parliament armies would dispose themselves to do.

So the king returned to Oxford, where, upon the desire of the members of parliament who had been called thither, and done all the service they could for the king, they were for the present dismissed, that they might, in their several counties, satisfy the people of the king's importunate desire of peace, but how insolently it had been rejected by the parliament; and thereupon induce them to contribute all they could to his majesty's assistance. They were to meet there again in the month of October following.

Then, that his majesty might draw most of the soldiers of that garrison with him out of Oxford, when he should take

[1] *Twenty-four pages of the original Manuscript C., which contained various portions of the earlier part of this book, and to which lord Clarendon has made continual references in his other MS., are unfortunately lost.*

the field, that city was persuaded to complete the regiment they had begun to form, under the command of a colonel whom the king had recommended to them; which they did raise to the number of a thousand men. There were likewise two other regiments raised of gentlemen and their servants, and of the scholars of the several colleges and halls of the university; all which regiments did duty there punctually, from the time that the king went into the field, till he returned again to Oxford; and all the lords declared, "that, upon any emergent occasion, they would mount their servants upon their horses, to make a good troop for a sudden service;" which they made good; and thereby, that summer, performed two or three very considerable and important actions.

By this time there was reason to believe, by all the intelligence that could be procured, and by the change of his quarters, that Waller had laid aside his western march; at least that it was suspended; and that, on the contrary, all endeavours were used to recruit both his and the earl of Essex's army, with all possible expedition; and that neither of them should move upon any action till they should be both complete in greater numbers, than either of them had yet marched with. Hereupon, the king's army removed from Marlborough to Newbury; where they remained near a month, that they might be in a readiness to attend the motion of the enemy, and to assist the garrisons of Reading, or Wallingford; or to draw out either, as there should be occasion.

There had been several deliberations in the council of war, and always very different opinions, what should be done with the garrisons when the king should take the field; and the king himself was irresolute upon those debates, what to do. He communicated the several reasons to prince Rupert by letters, requiring his advice; who, after he had returned answers, and received replies, made a hasty journey to Oxford from Chester, to wait upon his majesty. And it was then positively resolved, "that the garrisons of Oxford, Wallingford, Abingdon, Reading, and Banbury, should be reinforced and strengthened with all the foot; that a good

body of horse should remain about Oxford, and the rest should be sent into the west to prince Maurice." If this counsel had been pursued steadily and resolutely, it might probably have been attended with good success. Both armies of the enemy would have been puzzled what to have done, and either of them would have been unwilling to have engaged in a siege against any place so well provided and resolved; and it would have been equally uncounsellable to have marched to any distance, and have left such an enemy at their backs, that could so easily and quickly have united, and incommoded any march they could have made.

But as it was even impossible to have administered such advice to the king, in the strait he was in, which being pursued might not have proved inconvenient, so it was the unhappy temper of those who were called to those councils, that resolutions, taken upon full debate, were seldom prosecuted with equal resolution and steadiness; but changed upon new, shorter debates, and upon objections which had been answered before: some men being in their natures irresolute and inconstant, and full of objections, even after all was determined according to their own proposals; others being positive, and not to be altered from what they had once declared, how unreasonably soever, or what alterations soever there were in the affairs. And the king himself frequently considered more the person who spoke, as he was in his grace or his prejudice, than the counsel itself that was given;[1] and always suspected, at least trusted less to his own judgment than he ought to have done; which rarely deceived him so much as that of other men.

The persons with whom he only consulted in his martial affairs, and how to carry on the war, were (besides prince Rupert, who was at this time absent) the general, who was made earl of Brentford; the lord Wilmot, who was general of the horse; the lord Hopton, who usually commanded an army apart, and was not often with the king's army, but now present; sir Jacob Astley, who was major-general of

[1] A certain mark of a weak prince; how much soever courtiers are ready to praise their master's *judgment*.---W.

the army; the lord Digby, who was secretary of state; and sir John Colepepper, master of the rolls; for none of the privy-council, those two only excepted, were called to those consultations; though some of them were still advised with, for the better execution, or prosecution, of what was then and there resolved.

The general, though he had been, without doubt, a very good officer,[1] and had great experience, and was still a man of unquestionable courage and integrity; yet he was now much decayed in his parts, and, with the long continued custom of immoderate drinking, dozed in his understanding, which had been never quick and vigorous; he having been always illiterate to the greatest degree that can be imagined. He was now become very deaf, yet often pretended not to have heard what he did not then contradict, and thought fit afterwards to disclaim. He was a man of few words, and of great compliance, and usually delivered that as his opinion, which he foresaw would be grateful to the king.

Wilmot was a man of a haughty and ambitious nature, of a pleasant wit, and an ill understanding,[2] as never considering above one thing at once; but he considered that one thing so impatiently, that he would not admit any thing else to be worth any consideration. He had, from the beginning of the war, been very averse to any advice of the privy-council, and thought fit that the king's affairs (which depended upon the success of the war) should entirely be governed and conducted by the soldiers and men of war, and that no other counsellors should have any credit with his majesty. Whilst prince Rupert was present, his exceeding great prejudice, or rather personal animosity against him, made any thing that Wilmot said or proposed, enough slighted and contradicted: and the king himself,[3] upon some former account and observation, was far from any indulgence to his person, or esteem

[1] A strange mixture of a worthless courtier and unable general.---W.

[2] Here *understanding* is used for *judgment*.—W.

[3] Here the king's opinion, though just, was directed by prejudice, and not reason.---W.

of his parts. But now, by the prince's absence, and his being the second man in the army, and the contempt he had of the old general, who was there the only officer above him, he grew marvellously elated, and looked upon himself as one whose advice ought to be followed, and submitted to in all things. He had, by his excessive good fellowship, (in every part whereof he excelled, and was grateful to all the company,) made himself so popular with all the officers of the army, especially of the horse, that he had, in truth, a very great interest; which he desired might appear to the king, that he might have the more interest in him. He was positive in all his advices in council, and bore contradiction very impatiently; and because he was most contradicted by the two privy-counsellors, the secretary, and the master of the rolls, who, he saw, had the greatest influence upon the king, he used all the artifices he could to render them unacceptable and suspected to the officers of the army, by telling them what they had said in council; which he thought would render them the more ungrateful; and, in the times of jollity, persuaded the old general to believe that they invaded his prerogative, and meddled more in the business of the war, than they ought to do; and thereby made him the less disposed to concur with them in advice, how rational and seasonable soever it was; which often put the king to the trouble of converting him.[1]

The lord Hopton was a man superior to any temptation, and abhorred enough the licence, and the levities, with which he saw too many corrupted. He had a good understanding, a clear courage, an industry not to be tired, and a generosity that was not to be exhausted; a virtue that none of the rest had:[2] but, in the debates concerning the war, was longer in resolving, and more apt to change his mind after he had resolved,[3] than is agreeable to the office of a commander

[1] Finely expressed, and alluding to what he had said before of the *courtier part* of the general's character.---W.

[2] In a character like this, this defect appears to be owing to his not being a perfect master of his trade; and this indeed appears through his whole service.—W.

[3] That is, he was the only one who was above the meanness of tak-

in chief; which rendered him rather fit for the second, than for the supreme command in an army.

Sir Jacob Astley was an honest, brave, plain man, and as fit for the office he exercised, of major general of the foot, as Christendom yielded; and was so generally esteemed; very discerning and prompt in giving orders, as the occasions required, and most cheerful, and present in any action. In council he used few, but very pertinent words; and was not at all pleased with the long speeches usually made there; and which rather confounded, than informed his understanding: so that he rather collected the ends of the debates, and what he was himself to do, than enlarged them by his own discourses; though he forbore not to deliver his own mind.

The two privy-counsellors, though they were of the most different natures and constitutions that can be imagined, always agreed in their opinions; and being, in their parts, much superior to the other, usually prevailed upon the king's judgment to like what they approved: yet one of them,[1] who had in those cases the ascendant over the other, had that excess of fancy, that he too often, upon his own recollecting and revolving the grounds of the resolutions which had been taken, or upon the suggestions of other men, changed his own mind; and thereupon caused orders to be altered, which produced, or were thought to produce, many inconveniences.

This unsteadiness in counsels, and in matters resolved upon, made the former determination concerning the garrisons to be little considered. The king's army had lain above three weeks at and about Newbury; in which time their numbers were nothing improved, beyond what they had been upon their muster near Marlborough, when the king was present. When it was known that both the parliament armies were marched out of London; that under Es-

ing advantage of the king's distressed situation, to push their own selfish views of ambition or avarice. This gives us a sad picture both of the court and camp.—W.

[1] Lord Digby; he preserved that ascendancy which he formerly had over the other in the house, now in the council; and this was natural, otherwise Colepepper was of a nature to be overborne by words. —W.

sex to Windsor; and that of Waller, to the parts between Hertford Bridge and Basing, without any purpose of going further west; the king's army marched to Reading; and in three days, his majesty being present, they slighted and demolished all the works of that garrison: and then, which was about the middle of May, with the addition of those soldiers, which increased the army five and twenty hundred old soldiers more, very well officered, the army retired to the quarters about Oxford, with an opinion, that it would be in their power to fight with one of the enemy's armies; which they longed exceedingly to do.

The king returned to Oxford, and resolved to stay there till he could have better information what the enemy intended. The ill accidents of the winter, and the absence of prince Rupert with so considerable a part of the army, and the application of all the levies which had been made to the enabling his highness to proceed in his great enterprise, had kept the king's preparations for the field from any forwardness; so that the parliament forces in two distinct armies, the one under the earl of Essex, the other under Waller, but subject to the earl's orders, marched out of London before the king moved out of Oxford; where he remained till he could fully be informed of their designs; which was not now so easy as it had formerly been. For, since the conjunction with the Scottish commissioners in one council, for the carrying on the war, little business was brought to be consulted in either of the houses; and there was much greater secrecy than before; none being admitted into any kind of trust, but they whose affections were known to concur to the most desperate counsels. So that the designs were still entirely formed, before any part of them were communicated to the earl of Essex; nor was more communicated at a time than was necessary for the present execution; of which he was sensible enough, but could not help it. The intention was, "that the two armies, which marched out together, should always be distinct; and should only not sever, till it appeared what course the king meant to take; and if he stayed in Oxford, it would be fit for both to be in the siege; the circumvallation being very great, and

to be divided in many places by the river; which would keep both armies still asunder under their several officers." But if the king marched out, which they might reasonably presume he would, then the purpose was, "that the earl of Essex should follow the king, whither ever he went;" which they imagined would be northward; "and that Waller should march into the west, and subdue that." So that, having so substantially provided for the north by the Scots, and the earl of Manchester; and having an army under the earl of Essex, much superior in number to any the king could be attended with; and the third, under Waller, at liberty for the west; they promised themselves, and too reasonably, that they should make an end of the war that summer. When they came near Oxford, and divided the armies on both sides, Waller to Abingdon, and the earl of Essex to the other side of the town, the king thought it time to withdraw from thence; and, taking all the horse with him, and putting all the foot into the town, in the night he marched to Woodstock; and the next day, finding that the earl of Essex declined the town, and seemed to follow him, his majesty went forward to Evesham intending to have continued his march to Worcester, where he could stay till he saw clearly what the two armies would do. But the earl of Essex, when he saw the king was at that distance, turned with his whole army towards the west, and commanded Waller with his body to follow the king, by which both he and his friends in parliament were disappointed; yet he could not but obey his orders: and with what speed he could he drew his army from the other side of the town, and marched after the king, who had yet the benefit of two or three days' rest for his troops; and having speedy intelligence that the two armies were parted, and that Waller only attended his motion, his majesty turned back towards Oxford on the Gloucestershire side, and sent present orders, for the general, who had stayed with the foot and cannon in Oxford, to march out with them to a place appointed; where his majesty and the whole body of horse met them; and being joined, were not unwilling to see Waller, who was superior in foot by much, and equal in horse. They looked upon each other a day or two,

there being a little river between them, when Waller, having a mind to be at a greater distance, made his army march in no very good order, leaving a good party of horse in the rear. Upon which the van of the king's horse, at a place called Cropredy bridge, about fourteen miles from Oxford, the water being low, by the long dry and hot weather, it being towards the end of June, crossed the river, and charged the enemy's horse, which received them well; and stood the shock so well, that the king's horse gave ground, Wilmot the lieutenant general being taken prisoner. But the earl of Cleveland, with some troops who were well officered, charged them again so rudely, that he freed the lieutenant general within few minutes after he was taken, and routed all the horse; who running away, disordered and routed their own foot; so that the king's troops pursuing them with a sharp appetite, they made a good execution both of the horse and foot, took eight pieces of cannon, with many officers of name; and amongst them, Wemys the general of the ordnance, and the second officer of the army, a Scotchman, whom the king had made master-gunner of England few years before, to the great and sensible discontent of all the English, who understood that service. All this was done by four or five troops of the king's horse, who had marched faster than they ought to have done; the body of the army being behind, as sir Will. Waller's van was above two miles before, when this blow befell their fellows. The king marched with his whole army to overtake the rest, and continued in pursuit, and often in sight of them, two days; but they would not be brought to engagement: and it appeared quickly after, that this small defeat (in which there did not appear to be a thousand men killed and taken prisoners) had so totally broken all that army, that it was never brought to fight after; and he himself, after a little rest about Dunstable and those parts, returned to London, making grievous complaints against the earl of Essex, as if he had purposely exposed him to be affronted: all which was hearkened to very willingly, and his person received and treated as if he had returned victorious: which was a method very contrary to what was practised in the king's quarters.

The king being thus wonderfully left at liberty, and having with so little loss upon the matter defeated one whole army, his heart was at no ease, with the apprehension of the terrible fright the queen would be in, who was newly delivered of a daughter, (who was afterwards married to the duke of Orleans,) when she saw the earl of Essex with his army before the walls of Exeter, and heard that Waller with another army was in pursuit of his majesty: and therefore he resolved with all possible expedition to follow the earl of Essex. And so returning to Oxford, he stayed only two nights there, to refresh his army, which had had very little rest in eight or ten days; and then he began his march towards the west, taking with him all the garrison that could possibly be drawn from thence, though he left his son the duke of York there; so that the lords of the council were glad immediately to cause all their servants to be listed and put in troops and companies under good officers; by which they disposed the town to raise a good regiment of foot, and the scholars likewise to raise several companies of themselves, and under their own officers; by all which, with the few soldiers that were left, sufficient guards were kept for the safety of the place, and the fortifications were more diligently repaired and prosecuted than they had been in any time: in which the chancellor of the exchequer was so solicitous, by drawing in the country to work, and by collecting money to pay the workmen, that much was imputed to his extraordinary diligence and industry. At Oxford, though every ill accident always changed the humours there, the town being full of lords and many persons of the best quality, (besides those of the council,) with very many ladies, who were not easily pleased, and kept others from being so, and they had hardly yet recovered the discomposure they had been in, when the king went from thence towards the west, and when he took away all the strength of the garrison with him, which made them think themselves abandoned, and of other places to retire to, which was the reason that the king thought it necessary to leave the duke of York there, to compose their minds the better.

It was about the tenth of May, that the earl of Essex and

sir William Waller marched out of London, with both their armies; and the very next day after the king's army had quitted Reading, the earl of Essex, from Windsor, sent forces to possess it; and recommended it to the city of London, to provide both men, and all other things necessary for the keeping it; which the memory of what they had suffered for the two past years, by being without it, easily disposed them to do. By this means the earl had the opportunity to join with Waller's army when he should think fit; which before they could not do with convenience or security. Nor did they ever after join in one body, but kept at a fit distance, to be able, if there were occasion, to help each other.

The earl of Essex's army consisted of all his old troops, which had wintered about St. Alban's, and in Bedfordshire; and being now increased with four regiments of the trained bands, and auxiliaries within the city of London, did not amount to less than ten thousand horse and foot. Waller had likewise received a large recruit from London, Kent, and Sussex; and was little inferior in numbers to Essex, and in reputation above him. When the king's army retired from Reading, the horse quartered about Wantage and Farringdon, and all the foot were put into Abingdon, with a resolution to quit or defend that town, according to the manner of the enemy's advance towards it; that is, if they came upon the east side, where, besides some indifferent fortifications, they had the advantage of the river, they would maintain and defend it; if they came on the west side from Wantage and Farringdon, they would draw out and fight, if the enemy were not by much superior in number; and, in that case, they would retire with the whole army to Oxford.

Being satisfied with this resolution, they lay in that quiet posture, without making the least impression upon the enemy, by beating up his quarters; which might easily have been done; or restraining them from making incursions where they had a mind; all which was imputed to the ill humour and negligence of Wilmot. The earl of Essex advanced with his army towards Abingdon; and upon the east part of the town; which was that which they had hoped for,

in order to their defending it. But they were no sooner advertised of it, but the general, early the next morning, marched with all the foot out of Abingdon, the horse being come thither in the night to make good the retreat: and all this was done before his majesty had the least notice or suspicion of it. As soon as his majesty was informed of it by sir Charles Blunt, the scout master general, whom the general had sent to acquaint the king with the resolution, he sent sir Charles Blunt back to the general, to let him know the great dislike he had of their purpose to quit the town, and to command him to stay, and not to advance till his majesty came to him; which he made all possible haste to do. But before the messenger could return, the army was within sight of Oxford; and so the foot was drawn through the city, and the horse quartered in the villages about the town.

Abingdon was in this manner, and to the king's infinite trouble, quitted; whither a party of Essex's army came the same night; and the next day, himself with all his foot entered the town; his horse being quartered about it. He then called Waller to bring up his army near him, that they might resolve in what manner to proceed; and he had his head quarter at Wantage: and so, without the striking one blow, they got the possession of Reading, Abingdon; and were masters of all Berkshire; and forced the king to draw his whole army of horse and foot on the north side of Oxford; where they were to feed on his own quarters, and to consider how to keep Oxford itself from being besieged, and the king from being enclosed in it.

This was the deplorable condition to which the king was reduced before the end of the month of May;[1] insomuch that it was generally reported at London, "that Oxford was

[1] Had this been a great king, who knew how to command and be obeyed by his servants, and had abilities to accommodate himself to times and occasions, notwithstanding all his former misgovernments, his recent and ample reparation of the breaches into public liberty, would have enabled him, when the sword was drawn, to denitehe his factious parliament. But when his servants saw him governed by the queen, they thought it but reasonable that they should have a share in the ruin of the uxorious monarch.---W.

taken, and the king a prisoner;" and others more confidently gave it out, "that his majesty resolved to come to London:" of which the parliament was not without some apprehension, though not so much, as of the king's putting himself into the hands of the earl of Essex, and into his protection; which they could not endure to think of; and this troubled them so much, that the committee of both kingdoms, who conducted the war, writ this letter to their general.

"My lord,

"We are credibly informed, that his majesty intends to come for London. We desire you, that you will do your endeavour to inform yourself of the same; and if you think that his majesty intends at all to come to the armies, that you acquaint us with the same; and do nothing therein, until the houses shall give direction."

So much jealousy they had of the earl, and the more, because they saw not else what the king could do; who could not entertain any reasonable expectation of increase, or addition of force from the north, or from the west; prince Rupert being then in his march into Lancashire, for the relief of the earl of Derby, (besieged in his castle of Latham,) and prince Maurice being still engaged in the unfortunate siege of Lyme in Dorsetshire, a little fisher-town; which, after he had lain before it a month, was much more like to hold out, than it was the first day he came before it. In this perplexity, the king sent the lord Hopton to Bristol, to provide better for the security of that important city; where he knew Waller had many friends; and himself resolved yet to stay at Oxford, till he saw how the two armies would dispose themselves; that, when they were so divided that they could not presently join, he might fight with one of them; which was the greatest hope he had now left.

It was very happy that the two armies lay so long quiet near each other, without pressing the advantages they had, or improving the confusion and distraction, which the king's forces were, at that time, too much inclined to. Orders

were given so to quarter the king's army, that it might keep the rebels from passing over either of the rivers, Cherwell, or Isis, which run on the east and west sides of the city; the foot being, for the most part, quartered towards the Cherwell, and the horse, with some dragoons, near the Isis.

In this posture all the armies lay quiet, and without action, for the space of a day; which somewhat composed the minds of those within Oxford, and of the troops without; which had not yet recovered their dislike of their having quitted Abingdon, and thereby of being so straitened in their quarters. Some of Waller's forces attempted to pass the Isis at Newbridge, but were repulsed by the king's dragoons. But the next day Essex, with his whole army, got over the Thames at Sandford ferry, and marched to Islip, where he made his quarters; and, in his way, made a halt upon Bullington-green, that the city might take a full view of his army, and he of it. In order to which, himself, with a small party of horse, came within cannon shot; and little parties of horse came very near the ports, and had light skirmishes with some of the king's horse, without any great hurt on either side.

The next morning, a strong party of the earl's army endeavoured to pass over the Cherwell, at Gosworth-bridge; but were repulsed by the musketeers with very considerable loss; and so retired to their body. And now the earl being engaged, with his whole army, on the east side of the river Cherwell, whereby he was disabled to give or receive any speedy assistance to or from Waller; the king resolved to attempt the repossessing himself of Abingdon, and to take the opportunity to fight with Waller singly, before he could be relieved from the other army. In order to this, all the foot were in the evening drawn off from the guard of the passes, and marched through Oxford in the night towards Abingdon; and the earl of Cleveland, a man of signal courage, and an excellent officer upon any bold enterprise, advanced, with a party of one hundred and fifty horse, to the town itself; where there were a thousand foot, and four hundred horse of Waller's army; and entered the same, and killed many, and took some prisoners: but, upon the alarm,

he was so overpowered, that his prisoners escaped, though he killed the chief commander, and made his retreat good, with the loss only of two officers, and as many common soldiers; and so both the attempt upon Abingdon was given over, and the design of fighting Waller laid aside; and the army returned again to their old post, on the north side of Oxford.

Sir Jacob Astley undertook the command himself at Gosworth-bridge, where he perceived the earl intended to force his passage; and presently cast up breastworks, and made a redoubt for the defence of his men, and repulsed the enemy, the second time, very much to their damage and loss; who renewed their assault two or three days together, and planted cannon to facilitate their passage, which did little hurt; but they still lost many men in the attempt. On the other side, Waller's forces from Abingdon did not find the new bridge so well defended; but overpowering those guards, and having got boats, in which they put over their men both above and below, they got that passage over the river Isis: by which they might have brought over all their army, and fallen upon the king's rear, whilst he was defending the other side.

It was now high time for the king to provide for his own security, and to escape the danger he was in, of being shut up in Oxford. Waller lost no time, but the next day passed over five thousand horse and foot, by Newbridge: the van whereof quartered at Ensham, and, the king's foot being drawn off from Gosworth-bridge, Essex immediately brought his men over the Cherwell; and quartered that night at Blechingdon; many of his horse advancing to Woodstock; so that the king seemed to them to be perfectly shut in between them; and to his own people, his condition seemed so desperate, that one of those with whom he used to advise in his most secret affairs, and whose fidelity was never suspected, proposed to him to render himself, upon conditions, to the earl of Essex; which his majesty rejected with great indignation; yet had the goodness to conceal the name of the proposer; and said, "that possibly he might be found in the hands of the earl of Essex, but he would be dead

first." Word was given, "for all the horse to be together, at such an hour," to expect orders; and a good body of foot, with cannon, marched through the town towards Abingdon; by which it was concluded, that both armies would be amused, and Waller induced to draw back over Newbridge: and, as soon as it was evening, the foot, and cannon, returned to their old post on the north side.

The king resolved, for the encouragement of the lords of the council, and the persons of quality who were in Oxford, to leave his son the duke of York there; and promised, if they should be besieged, "to do all he could to relieve them before they should be reduced to extremity." He appointed then, "that two thousand and five hundred choice musketeers should be drawn out of the whole foot, under the command of sir Jacob Astley, and four experienced colonels; all which should, without colours, repair to the place where the horse attended to receive orders, and that the rest of the foot should remain together on the north side, and so be applied to the defence of Oxford, if it should be besieged."

All things being in this order, on Monday the third of June, about nine of the clock at night, the king, with the prince, and those lords, and others who were appointed to attend him, and many others of quality who were not appointed, and only thought themselves less secure if they should stay behind, marched out of the north port, attended by his own troop, to the place where the horse, and commanded foot, waited to receive them; and from thence, without any halt, marched between the two armies, and by daybreak were at Hanborough, some miles beyond all their quarters. But the king rested not till the afternoon, when he found himself at Burford; and then concluded that he was in no danger to be overtaken by any army that was to follow with baggage, and a train of artillery: so that he was content to refresh his men there; and supped himself; yet was not without apprehension that he might be followed by a body of the enemy's horse; and therefore, about nine of the clock, he continued his march from Burford over the Cotswold, and by midnight reached Burton upon the Water;

where he gave himself, and his wearied troops, more rest and refreshment.

The morning after the king left Oxford, the foot marched again through Oxford, as if they meant to go to Abingdon, to continue that amusement which the day before had prevailed with Waller, to send many of his men back, and to delay his own advance; and likewise, that quarters might be provided for them against their return; which they did by noon. The earl of Essex had that morning, from Blechingdon, sent some horse to take a view of Oxford, and to learn what was doing there. And they seeing the colours standing, as they had done two days before, made him conclude, that the king was still there, and as much in his power as ever. Waller had earlier intelligence of his majesty's motion, and sent a good body of horse to follow him, and to retard his march, till he could come up: and his horse made such haste, that they found in Burford some of the straggling soldiers, who out of weariness, or for love of drink, had stayed behind their fellows. The earl of Essex followed likewise with his army, and quartered at Chipping Norton; and Waller's horse were as far as Broadway, when the king had reached Evesham; where he intended to rest, as in a secure place; though his garrison at Tewkesbury had been, the night before, surprised by a strong party from Gloucester; the chief officers being killed, and the rest taken prisoners; most of the common soldiers making their escape, and coming to Evesham. But, upon intelligence that both armies followed by strong marches, and it being possible that they might get over the river Avon about Stratford, or some other place, and so get between the king and Worcester, his majesty changed his purpose of staying at Evesham, and presently marched to Worcester, having given order for the breaking of the bridge at Pershore; which was, unwarily, so near done before all the troops were passed, that, by the sudden falling of an arch, major Bridges, of the prince's regiment, a man of good courage and conduct, with two or three other officers of horse, and about twenty common men, fell unfortunately into the Avon, and were drowned.

The earl of Essex, when he saw the king was got full

two days' march before him, and that it was impossible so to overtake him, as to bring him into their power, resolved to pursue him no further, but to consult what was else to be done; and, to that purpose, called a council of all the principal officers of both armies, to attend him at Burford; where it was resolved, "that Waller, who had the lighter ordnance, and the less carriages, should have such an addition of forces, as Massey, the governor of Gloucester, should be able to furnish him with; and so should pursue and follow the king wheresoever he should go; and that the earl of Essex, who had the greater ordnance, and the heavier carriages, should prosecute the other design of relieving Lyme, and reducing the west to the obedience of the parliament."

Waller opposed this resolution all he could; and urged some order and determination of the committee of both kingdoms in the point; and, "that the west was assigned to him, as his province, when the two armies should think fit to sever from each other." However, Essex gave him positive orders, as his general, "to march according to the advice of the council of war;" which he durst not disobey, but sent grievous complaints to the parliament, of the usage he was forced to submit to. And they at Westminster were so incensed against the earl of Essex, that they writ a very angry and imperious letter to him, in which they reproached him, "for not submitting to the directions which they had given;" and required him "to follow their former directions, and to suffer Waller to attend the service of the west." Which letter was brought to him before he had marched above two days westward. But the earl chose rather to answer their letter, than to obey their order; and writ to them, "that their directions had been contrary to the discipline of war, and to reason; and that, if he should now return, it would be a great encouragement to the enemy in all places;" and subscribed his letter, "Your innocent, though suspected servant, Essex;" and then prosecuted his resolution, and continued his march for the west.

When Waller found there was no remedy, he obeyed his orders with much diligence and vigour; and prosecuted his march towards Worcester, where his majesty then was; and,

in his way, persuaded, rather than forced, the garrison of Sudely-castle, the strong house of the lord Chandois, to deliver up that place to him. The lord of that castle was a young man of spirit and courage; and had for two years served the king very bravely in the head of a regiment of horse, which himself had raised at his own charge; but had lately, out of pure weariness of the fatigue, and having spent most of his money, and without any diminution of his affection, left the king, under pretence of travel; but making London his way, he gave himself up to the pleasures of that place; which he enjoyed, without considering the issue of the war, or shewing any inclination to the parliament; nor did he, in any degree, contribute to the delivery of his house; which was at first imagined, because it was so ill, or not at all, defended. It was under the government of sir William Morton, a gentleman of the long robe; who, in the beginning of the war, cast off his gown, as many other gallant men of that profession of the law did, and served as lieutenant colonel in the regiment of horse under the lord Chandois; and had given so frequent testimony of signal courage in several actions, in which he had received many wounds, both by the pistol and the sword, that his mettle was never suspected; and his fidelity as little questioned: and after many years of imprisonment, sustained with great firmness and constancy, he lived to receive the reward of his merit, after the return of the king; who made him first a sergeant at law, and afterwards a judge of the king's bench; where he sat many years, and discharged the office with much gravity and learning; and was very terrible to those who chose to live by robbing on the highway. He was unfortunate, though without fault, in the giving up that castle in so unseasonable a conjuncture; which was done by the faction and artifice of an officer within, who had found means to go out to Waller, and to acquaint him with the great wants of the garrison; which indeed had not plenty of any thing: and so, by the mutiny of the soldiers, it was given up; and the governor made prisoner, and sent to the Tower; where he remained some years after the end of the war. From hence Waller, with great expedition, march-

ed to Evesham; where the evil inhabitants received him willingly; and had, as soon as the king left them, repaired their bridge over the Avon, to facilitate his coming to them; which he could not else so soon have done.

The king rested some days at Worcester, whereby he very much refreshed his troops, which were there spared from doing duty; and likewise, by the loyalty of that good town, and the affection of the gentry of that county, who retired thither for their security, he procured both shoes and stockings, and money for his soldiers: and then, upon good information, that Waller was marched out of Evesham with his whole army towards Worcester, which he would probably besiege, the king resolved not to be found there; and therefore, having left that city well provided, and in good heart, his majesty removed with his little army to Bewdley, that he might keep the river Severn between him and the enemy; the foot being quartered together at Bewdley, and the horse by the side of the river towards Bridgenorth. The posture in which the king was, made Waller conclude, that his majesty intended his course to Shrewsbury, and to the more northern parts. And it is true, that, without any such resolution, orders were sent to Shrewsbury, Bridgenorth, Ludlow, and other garrisons, "that they should make all possible provisions of corn, and other victual; which they should cause, in great quantities, to be brought thither;" which confirmed Waller in his former conjecture, and made him advance with his army beyond the king, that he might be nearer Shrewsbury than he. But, God knows, the king was without any other design, than to avoid the enemy; with whom he could not, with such a handful of foot, and without cannon, propose reasonably to fight a battle: and he had too many good reasons against going to either of those places, or to those parts, which Waller conceived him inclined to; and his majesty might well assume the complaint and expression of king David, "that he *was hunted as a partridge upon the mountains;*" and knew not whither to resort, or to what place to repair for rest.

In this perplexity, it looked like the bounty of Providence, that Waller was advanced so far: upon which, the king took

a sudden resolution, to return with all expedition to Worcester, and to make haste to Evesham; where having broke the bridge, and so left the river of Avon at his back, he might be able, by quick marches, to join with that part of his army, which he had left at Oxford; and might thereby be in a condition to fight with Waller, and to prosecute any other design. Upon this good resolution, care was taken for all the boats to come both from Bridgenorth and Worcester, that the foot might, with the more speed and ease, be carried thither; all which succeeded to wish. Insomuch, that the next day, being embarked early in the morning, the foot arrived so soon at Worcester, that they might very well have marched that night to Evesham, but that many of the horse, which were quartered beyond Bewdley towards Bridgenorth, could not possibly march at that rate, nor come up soon enough; so that it was necessary that both horse and foot should remain that night together at Worcester; which they did accordingly.

The next morning, the king found no cause to alter any thing in his former resolution; and received good intelligence, that Waller, without knowing any thing of his motion, remained still in his old quarters; whereupon he marched very fast to Evesham; nor would he stay there; but gave order for the horse and foot, without delay, to march through it; after he had provided for the breaking down the bridge, and made the inhabitants of the town pay two hundred pounds, for their alacrity in the reception of Waller; and likewise compelled them to deliver a thousand pair of shoes for the use of the soldiers; which, without any long pause, was submitted to, and performed. Then the army marched that night to Broadway, where they quartered; and very early the next morning, they mounted the hills near Camden; and there they had time to breathe, and to look with pleasure on the places they had passed through; having now left Waller, and the ill ways he must pass, far enough behind; for even in that season of the year, the ways in that vale were very deep.

Now the king sent colonel Fielding, and, lest he might miscarry, (for both from Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and Sude-

ly-castle, the enemy had many scouts abroad,) two or three other messengers, to the lords of the council at Oxford, to let them know "of his happy return;" and that he meant to quarter that night at Burford; and the next at Witney; where he did expect, that all his foot, with their colours and cannon, would meet him; which, with unspeakable joy, they did. So that on Thursday the twentieth of June, which was within seventeen days after he had left Oxford in that disconsolate condition, the king found himself in the head of his army, from which he had been so severed, after so many accidents and melancholic perplexities, to which majesty has been seldom exposed. Nor can all the circumstances of that peregrination be too particularly and punctually set down. For as they administered much delight after they were passed, and gave them great argument of acknowledging God's good providence in the preservation of the king, and, in a manner, snatching him as a brand out of the fire, and redeeming him even out of the hands of the rebels; so it cannot be ungrateful, or without some pleasure to posterity, to see the most exact relation of an action so full of danger in all respects, and of an escape so remarkable. And now the king thought himself in a posture not only to abide Waller, if he approached towards him, but to follow and find him out, if he had a mind, or did endeavour to decline fighting with his majesty.

In the short time the king had been absent, the garrison at Oxford was not idle. When the king in the spring had prepared for the field, and in order thereunto had drawn out the garrison at Reading, it was thought to no purpose to keep lesser garrisons, at a less distance from Oxford; and thereupon the garrison at Bostal-house, reputed a strong place, upon the edge of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, was appointed to demolish the works and fortifications, and to retire, and join with the army: which was no sooner done, but the garrison at Aylesbury, that had felt the effects of the other's ill neighbourhood, possessed the place, and put a garrison into it; which, after the king had left Oxford, and both the armies of Essex and Waller were gone from before it, gave little less trouble to that city, and obstructed the

provisions which should come thither, almost as much as one of the armies had done. This brought great complaints and clamour from the country, and from the town, to the lords of the council; and was ever made an excuse for their not complying with the commands they sent out, for labourers to work upon the fortifications; which was the principal work in hand; or for any other service of the town. When both armies were drawn off to such a distance in following the king, that there seemed for the present no reasonable apprehension of being besieged, the lords considered of a remedy to apply to this evil from Bostal-house; and receiving encouragement from colonel Gage, (of whom they had a great esteem, and of whom we shall speak shortly more at large,) who offered to undertake the reducing it, they appointed a party of commanded men of the foot, which the king had left there, with three pieces of cannon, and a troop of horse of the town, to obey his orders, who, by the break of day, appeared before the place; and in a short time, with little resistance, got possession of the church, and the out-houses, and then battered the house itself with his cannon; which they within would not long endure; but desired a parley. Upon which the house was rendered, with the ammunition, one piece of ordnance, which was all they had; and much good provision of victual, whereof they had plenty for horse and man; and had liberty given them to go away with their arms and horses; very easy conditions for so strong a post; which was obtained with the loss of one inferior officer, and two or three common men. Here the colonel left a garrison, that did not only defend Oxford from those mischievous incursions, but did very near support itself, by the contribution it drew from Buckinghamshire, besides the prey it frequently took from the very neighbourhood of Aylesbury.

The earl of Essex, by slow and easy marches, and without any opposition or trouble, entered into Dorsetshire; and by his great civility, and affability towards all men, and the very good discipline in his army, wrought very much upon the people. Insomuch that his forces rather increased than diminished; which had, during his being before Oxford, been much lessened, not only by the numbers which were killed

and hurt, but by the running away of many, whilst the sharp encounters continued at Gosworth-bridge. It can hardly be imagined, how great a difference there was in the humour, disposition, and manner of the army under Essex, and the other under Waller, in their behaviour and humanity towards the people; and, consequently, in the reception they found among them; the demeanour and carriage of those under Waller being much more ungentlemanly, and barbarous, than that of the other: besides that the people, in all places, were not without some affection, and even reverence towards the earl, who, as well upon his own account, as the memory of his father, had been always universally popular.

When he came to Blandford, he had a great mind to make himself master of Weymouth, if he could compass it without engaging his army before it; which he resolved not to do; however it was little out of his way to pass near it. Colonel Ashburnham, then governor of Weymouth, was made choice of for that command, upon the opinion of his courage and dexterity; and, to make way for him, sir Anthony Ashley Cooper[1] had been, the year before, removed from that charge; and was thereby so much disobliged, that he quitted the king's party, and gave himself up, body and soul, to the service of the parliament, with an implacable animosity against the royal interest. The colonel had been intent upon other things, and not enough solicitous to finish the fortifications, which were not strong enough to defy an army, yet too strong to be delivered upon the approach of one. I shall say the less of this matter, because the governor afterwards pressed to have the whole examined before a council of war, where he produced a warrant under the hand of prince Maurice, "that, the town being untenable, he should, upon the advance of the earl of Essex, put a sufficient strength into Portland-castle, and retire thither;" which he had done; and was, by the council of war, absolved from any crime. Yet, the truth is, however absolved, he lost reputation by it; and was

[1] I do not find that sir A. A. Cooper had occasioned this disgrace by any ill conduct. But Ashburnham was a court favourite, who afterwards conducted that famous night expedition from Hampton court to the Isle of Wight.---W.

thought to have left the town too soon, though he meant to have returned again, after he had visited Portland. But in the mean time the townsmen mutinied, and sent to the earl of Essex when he was near the town; whereupon he came thither; which he would not otherwise have done; and gave the garrison leave to march with their arms to prince Maurice; and so became master of Weymouth; and, leaving men enough out of the country to defend it, without any delay he prosecuted his march to Lyme; from whence prince Maurice, upon the news of the loss of Weymouth, had retired with haste enough towards Exeter,[1] with a body of full five and twenty hundred foot, and eighteen hundred horse; after he had put a garrison of five hundred men into Wareham, and with some loss of reputation, for having lain so long with such a strength before so vile and untenable a place, without reducing it.

As soon as the king had joined his army at Witney, which now consisted of full five thousand five hundred foot, and very near four thousand horse, with a convenient train of artillery, he resolved no longer to live upon his own quarters, which had been too much wasted by friends and enemies; but to visit the enemy's country; and so, the next day, he marched towards Buckingham, where he would stay and expect Waller, (of whose motion he yet heard nothing,) and from whence, if he appeared not, his majesty might enter into the associated counties, and so proceed northward, if, upon intelligence from thence, he found it reasonable. Whilst the king stayed at Buckingham, and thought himself now in a good condition to fight with the enemy, (his troops every day bringing in store of provisions, and, being now in a country where they were not expected, met with many cart-lords of wine, grocery, and tobacco, which were passing, as in secure roads, from London to Coventry and Warwick; all which were very welcome to Buckingham,) a new and unexpected trouble fell upon him by the ill humour and faction in his own army. Wilmot continued still sullen and perverse, and

[1] i. e. instead of *rising* from before Lyme, he run away; indeed he seemed to excel in nothing but plundering the country.---W.

every day grew more insolent; and had contracted such an animosity against the lord Digby, and the master of the rolls, that he persuaded many officers of the army, especially of the horse, where he was most entirely obeyed, to join in a petition to the king, "that those two counsellors might be excluded, and be no more present in councils of war;" which they promised to do.

Waller remained still in Worcestershire; upon which it was again consulted, what the king was to do. Some proposed "the marching presently into the associated counties;" others, "to lose no time in endeavouring to join with prince Rupert." Wilmot, without ever communicating it with the king, positively advised,[1] "that they might presently march towards London, and, now both their generals and armies were far from them, make trial what the true affection of the city was; and that, when the army was marched as far as St. Alban's, the king should send such a gracious message both to the parliament and city, as was most like to prevail upon them;" and concluded, as if he knew "that this way of proceeding would be very much approved of by the army." This extravagant motion, with all the circumstances of it, troubled the king very much; yet he thought not fit absolutely to reject it, lest it might promote that petition, which he knew was framing among the officers; but wished them, "that such a message should be prepared, and then that he would communicate both that, and what concerned his march towards London, to the lords of the council at Oxford; that in so weighty an affair he might receive their counsel." To that purpose the lord Digby, and the master of the rolls, were sent to Oxford; who, after two days, returned without any approbation of the march, or the message by the lords. But all that intrigue fell of itself, upon the sure intelligence, "that Waller had left Worcestershire, and marched, with what speed he could, to find his majesty;" which gave new argument of debate.

When the king had so dexterously deceived and eluded

[1] That is, privately, and before he proposed it in council.---W.

him by his quick march to and from Worcester, Waller, who had not timely information of it, and less suspected it, thought it not to the purpose to tire his army with long marches in hope to overtake him; but first shewed it at all the walls of Worcester, to terrify that city, which had contemned his power a year before, when it was not so well able to resist it. But he quickly discerned he could do no good there: then he marched towards Gloucester, having sent to colonel Massey to send him some men out of Gloucester; which he, being a creature of Essex's, refused to do. Upon this denial, he marched into Warwickshire; and appointed his rendezvous in Keinton field, the place where the first battle was fought. There he received an addition of seven troops of horse, and about six hundred foot, from Warwick and from Coventry, with eleven pieces of ordnance. With this recruit he marched confidently towards the king; of which his majesty being informed, that he might the sooner meet him, he marched with his army to Brackley, when Waller was near Banbury; and the armies coming shortly in view of each other, upon a fair sunshine in the afternoon, after a very wet morning, both endeavoured to possess a piece of ground they well knew to be of advantage; which being nearer to Waller, and the king passing his whole army through the town of Banbury, before he could come to it, Waller had first his men upon it in good order of battle, before the king could reach thither: so that the king lay that night in the field, half a mile east of Banbury, the river of Cherwell being between the two armies.

The king resolved to make Waller draw off from that advantage ground, where he had stood two days; and, in order thereunto, marched away, as if he would enter further into Northamptonshire: and he no sooner moved, but Waller likewise drew off from his ground, and coasted on the other side of the river, but at such a distance, that it was thought he had no mind to be engaged. The van of the king's army was led by the general, and Wilmot: in the body was the king and the prince, and the rear consisted of one thousand commanded foot, under colonel Thelwell, with the earl of Northampton's and the earl of Cleveland's brigades of horse.

And, that the enemy might not be able to take any advantage, a party of dragoons was sent to keep Cropredy-bridge, until the army was passed beyond it. The army marching in this order, intelligence was brought to the king, "that there was a body of three hundred horse within less than two miles of the van of the army, that marched to join with Waller; and that they might be easily cut off, if the army mended their pace." Whereupon, orders were sent to the foremost horse, "that they should move faster," the van and the middle having the same directions, without any notice given to the rear. Waller quickly discerned the great distance that was suddenly grown between the king's body and his rear, and presently advanced with fifteen hundred horse, one thousand foot, and eleven pieces of cannon, to Cropredy-bridge, which were quickly too strong for the dragoons that were left to keep it, and which made a very faint resistance: so that this party advanced above half a mile, pursuing their design of cutting off the king's rear, before they should be able to get up to the body of the army. To facilitate this execution, he had sent one thousand horse more, to pass over at a ford a mile below Cropredy-bridge, and to fall upon the rear of all. Timely notice being given of this to the earl of Cleveland, who was in the van of that division, and "of the enemy's having passed at Cropredy," (which was confirmed by the running of the horse, and scattered foot,) "and that there stood two bodies of horse without moving, and faced the army:" thereupon the earl presently drew up his brigade to a rising ground that faced that pass, where he discerned a great body of the rebels' horse drawn up and ready to have fallen upon his rear. It was no time to expect orders; but the earl, led by his own great spirit, charged presently that body with great fury, which sustained it not with equal courage; losing a cornet, and many prisoners.

This alarm had quickly reached the king, who sent to the van to return, and himself drew up those about him, to a little hill beyond the bridge; where he saw the enemy preparing for a second charge upon the earl of Cleveland. The king commanded the lord Bernard Stewart, a valiant young

gentleman, who commanded his own guards, "to make haste to the assistance of the rear; and, in his way, to charge those two bodies of horse which faced his majesty." He, with above a hundred of gallant and stout gentlemen, returned instantly over the bridge, and made haste towards those two bodies of horse; who, seeing their fellows routed by the earl of Cleveland, were then advancing to charge him in the flank, as he was following the execution. But the presence of this troop made them change their mind; and, after a very little stay, accompany their fellows in their flight; which very much facilitated the defeat that quickly ensued.

The earl of Cleveland, after his short encounter, made a stand under a great ash, (where the king had but half an hour before stayed and dined,) not understanding what the enemy could mean by advancing so fast, and then flying so soon; when he perceived a body of their horse of sixteen cornets, and as many colours of foot, placed within the hedges, and all within musket-shot of him, and advancing upon him; which he likewise did upon them with notable vigour; and having stood their musket and carabine shot, he charged them so furiously, being resolutely seconded by all the officers of his brigade, that he routed both horse and foot, and chased them with good execution beyond their cannon: all which, being eleven pieces, were taken; with two barricadoes of wood, which were drawn upon wheels, and in each seven small brass and leather guns, charged with case-shot; most of their cannoneers were killed, and the general of their ordnance taken prisoner. This man, one Weemes, a Scotchman, had been as much obliged by the king, as a man of his condition could be, and in a manner very unpopular: for he was made master gunner of England, with a pension of three hundred pounds *per annum* for his life, (which was looked upon as some disrespect to the English nation,) and having never done the king the least service, he took the first opportunity to disserve him; and having been engaged against him, from the beginning of the rebellion, he was now preferred by them, for his eminent disloyalty, to be general of the ordnance in the army of sir William Waller; who was very much advised by him in all

matters of importance. Besides Weemes, there was taken prisoner Baker, lieutenant colonel to sir William Waller's own regiment, and five or six lieutenant colonels and captains, of as good names as were amongst them; with many lieutenants, ensigns, and cornets, quartermasters; and above one hundred common soldiers; many more being slain in the charge. The earl pursued them as far as the bridge; over which he forced them to retire, in spite of their dragoons, which were placed there to make good their retreat; all which fled with them, or before. And so the earl, having cleared that side of the river, and not knowing how far he was from the army, retired, as he had good reason to do; having lost, in this notable action, two colonels, sir William Boteler, and sir William Clarke, both gentlemen of Kent, of fair fortunes, who had raised and armed their regiments at their own charge, who were both killed dead upon the place, with one captain more of another regiment, and not above fourteen common soldiers.

At the same time, the earl of Northampton discovered that party of the enemy's horse, which had found a passage over the river a mile below, to follow him in the rear; and presently faced about with those regiments of his brigade. Upon which, without enduring the charge, the whole body betook themselves to flight, and got over the pass they had so newly been acquainted with, with little loss, because they prevented the danger; though many of them, when they were got over, continued their flight so far, as if they were still pursued, that they never returned again to their army. The lord Bernard, with the king's troop, seeing there was no enemy left on that side, drew up in a large field opposite to the bridge; where he stood, whilst the cannon, on the other side, played upon him, until his majesty and the rest of the army passed by them, and drew into a body upon the fields near Wilscot. Waller instantly quitted Cropredy, and drew up his whole army upon the high grounds, which are between Cropredy and Hanwell, opposite to the king's quarters about a mile; the river of Cherwell, and some low grounds, being between both armies; which had a full view of each other.

It was now about three of the clock in the afternoon, the weather very fair, and very warm, (it being the 29th day of June,) and the king's army being now together, his majesty resolved to prosecute his good fortune, and to go to the enemy, since they would not come to him: and, to that purpose, sent two good parties, to make way for him to pass both at Cropredy-bridge, and the other pass a mile below; over which the enemy had so newly passed: both which places were strongly guarded by them. To Cropredy they sent such strong bodies of foot, to relieve each other as they should be pressed, that those sent by the king thither could make no impression upon them; but were repulsed, till the night came, and severed them; all parties being tired with the duty of the day. But they who were sent to the other pass, a mile below, after a short resistance, gained it, and a mill adjoining; where after they had killed some, they took the rest prisoners; and from thence, did not only defend themselves that and the next day, but did the enemy much hurt; expecting still that their fellows should master the other pass, that so they might advance together.

Here the king was prevailed with to make trial of another expedient. Some men, from the conference they had with the prisoners, others from other intelligence, made no doubt, but that if a message were now sent of grace and pardon to all the officers and soldiers of that army, they would forthwith lay down their arms: and it was very notorious, that multitudes ran every day from thence. How this message should be sent, so that it might be effectually delivered, was the only question that remained: and it was agreed, "that sir Edward Walker" (who was both garter king at arms, and secretary to the council of war) "should be sent to publish that his majesty's grace." But he wisely desired, "that a trumpet might be first sent for a pass;" the barbarity of that people being notorious, that they regarded not the laws of arms, or of nations. Whereupon a trumpet was sent to sir William Waller, to desire "a safe conduct for a gentleman, who should deliver a gracious message from his majesty." After two hours' consideration, he returned answer, "that he had no power to receive any message of

grace or favour from his majesty, without the consent of the two houses of parliament at Westminster, to whom his majesty, if he pleased, might make his addresses." And as soon as the trumpet was gone, as an evidence of his resolution, he caused above twenty shot of his greatest cannon to be made at the king's army, and as near the place as they could, where his majesty used to be.

When both armies had stood upon the same ground, and in the same posture, for the space of two days, they both drew off to a greater distance from each other; and, from that time, never saw each other. It then quickly appeared, by Waller's still keeping more aloof from the king, and his marching up and down from Buckingham, sometimes towards Northampton, and sometimes towards Warwick, that he was without other design, than of recruiting his army; and that the defeat of that day at Cropredy was much greater, than it then appeared to be; and that it even broke the heart of his army. And it is very probable, that if the king, after he had rested and refreshed his men three or four days, which was very necessary, in regard they were exceedingly tired with continual duty, besides that the provisions would not hold longer in the same quarters, had followed Waller, when it was evident he would not follow the king, he might have destroyed that army without fighting: for it appeared afterwards, without its being pursued, that within fourteen days after that action at Cropredy, Waller's army, that before consisted of eight thousand, was so much wasted, that there remained not with him half that number.

But the truth is, from the time that the king discovered that mutinous spirit in the officers, governed by Wilmot, at Buckingham, he was unsatisfied with the temper of his own army, and did not desire a thorough engagement, till he had a little time to reform some, whom he resolved never more heartily to trust; and to undeceive others, who, he knew, were misled without any malice, or evil intention. But when he now found himself so much at liberty from two great armies, which had so straitly encompassed him, within little more than a month; and that he had, upon the matter, defeated one of them, and reduced it to a state, in which it

could, for the present, do him little harm; his heart was at no ease, with apprehension of the terrible fright the queen would be in, (who was newly delivered of a daughter, that was afterwards married to the duke of Orleans,) when she saw the earl of Essex before the walls of Exeter, and should be at the same time informed, that Waller was with another army in pursuit of himself. His majesty resolved therefore, with all possible expedition, to follow the earl of Essex,[1] in hopes that he should be able to fight a battle with him, before Waller should be in a condition to follow him: and his own strength would be much improved, by a conjunction with prince Maurice; who, though he retired before Essex, would be well able, by the north of Devonshire, to meet the king, when he should know that he marched that way.

His majesty had no sooner taken this resolution, than he gave notice of it to the lords of the council at Oxford; and sent an express into the west, to inform the queen of it; who, by the way, carried orders to the lord Hopton, "to draw what men he could out of Monmouthshire, and South Wales, into Bristol; that himself might meet his majesty with as many as he could possibly draw out of that garrison." So, without any delay, the whole army, with what expedition was possible, marched towards the west over the Cotswold to Cirencester; and so to Bath; where he arrived on the 15th day of July, and stayed there one whole day, to refresh his army; which stood enough in need of it.

The king had scarce marched two days westward, when he was surprised with terrible news from the north; for, after he had, by an express from Oxford, received intelligence, "that prince Rupert had not only relieved York, but totally defeated the Scots, with many particulars to confirm it," (all which was so much believed there, that they had made public fires of joy for the victory,) he now received quite contrary information, and was too surely convinced, that his whole army was defeated. It was very true, that, after many great and noble actions performed by prince Rupert in

[1] His uxoriousness here occasioned, by accidents, one of the best steps the king ever made in the war.—W.

the relief of Latham, and the reduction of Bolton, and all other places in that large county, (Manchester only excepted,) in which the rebels lost very many, much blood having been shed in taking places by assault, which were too obstinately defended; the prince had marched out of Lancashire with so good reputation, and had given his orders so effectually to Goring, who lay in Lincolnshire with that body of horse that belonged to the marquis of Newcastle's army, that they happily joined him; and marched together towards York, with such expedition, that the enemy was so surprised, that they found it necessary to raise the siege in confusion enough; and leaving one whole side of the town free, drew to the other side, in great disorder and consternation; there being irreconcileable differences, and jealousies, between the officers, and, indeed, between the nations: the English resolving to join no more with the Scots, and they, on the other side, as weary of their company and discipline; so that the prince had done his work; and if he had sat still, the other great army would have mouldered to nothing, and been exposed to any advantage his highness would take of them.

But the dismal fate of the kingdom would not permit so much sobriety: one side of the town was no sooner free, by which there was an entire communication with those in the town, and all provision brought in abundantly out of the country, but the prince, without consulting with the marquis of Newcastle, or any of the officers within the town, sent for all the soldiers to draw out, and put the whole army in battalia, on that side where the enemy was drawn up; who had no other hope to preserve them but a present battle, to prevent the reproaches and mutinies which distracted them. And though that party of the king's horse which charged the Scots, so totally routed and defeated their whole army, that they fled all ways for many miles together, and were knocked on the head, and taken prisoners by the country, and Lesley their General fled ten miles, and was taken prisoner by a constable, (from whence the news of the victory was speedily brought to Newark, and thence sent by an express to Oxford; and so received and spread as aforesaid,)

yet the English horse, commanded by Fairfax and Cromwell, charged those on that side so well, and in such excellent order, being no sooner broken than they rallied again,[1] and charged as briskly, that, though both Fairfax and Cromwell were hurt, and both above the shoulders, and many good officers killed, they prevailed over that body of horse which opposed them, and totally routed and beat them off the field; so that almost the whole body of the marquis of Newcastle's foot were cut off.

The marquis himself, and his brave brother, sir Charles Cavendish, (who was a man of the noblest and largest mind, though the least and most inconvenient body that lived,) charged in the head of a troop of gentlemen, who came out of the town with him, with as much gallantry and courage as men could do. But it was so late in the evening before the battle begun, that the night quickly fell upon them; and the generals returned into the town, not enough knowing their own loss, and performing very few compliments to each other. They who most exactly describe that unfortunate battle, and more unfortunate abandoning that whole country, (when there might have been means found to have drawn a good army together,) by prince Rupert's hasty departure with all his troops, and the marquis of Newcastle's as hasty departure to the sea-side, and taking ship, and transporting himself out of the kingdom, and all the ill consequences thereupon, give so ill an account of any conduct, courage, or discretion, in the managery of that affair, that, as I can take no pleasure in the draft of it, so posterity would receive little pleasure, or benefit, in the most particular relation of it. This fatal blow, which so much changed the king's condition, that till then was very hopeful, made not such an impression upon his majesty, but that it made him pursue his former resolution to follow the earl of Essex with the more impatience, having now in truth nothing else to do.

[1] This was what the king's horse from first to last were so far from being brought to do, that when victorious they could rarely be brought in order to charge again, not for want of courage, but total want of discipline.---W.

This may be said of it, that the like was never done, or heard, or read of before; that two great generals,[1] whereof one had still a good army left, his horse, by their not having performed their duty, remaining upon the matter entire, and much the greater part of his foot having retired into the town, the great execution having fallen upon the northern foot; and the other, having the absolute commission over the northern counties, and very many considerable places in them still remaining under his obedience, should both agree in nothing else, but in leaving that good city, and the whole country, as a prey to the enemy; who had not yet the courage to believe that they had the victory; the Scots having been so totally routed, (as hath been said before,) their general made prisoner by a constable, and detained in custody, till most part of the next day was passed; and most of the officers, and army, having marched, or run above ten miles northward, before they had news that they might securely return:[2] and though the horse under Fairfax and Cromwell had won the day, yet they were both much wounded, and many others of the best officers killed, or so maimed that they could not, in any short time, have done more hurt: so that if there had been any agreement to have concealed their loss, which might have been done to a good degree, (for the enemy was not possessed of the field, but was drawn off at a distance, not knowing what the horse, which had done so little, might do the next day,) there might probably many advantages have appeared, which were not at the instant in view; however, they might both have done that as securely afterwards, as they did then unseasonably.

But neither of them were friends to such deliberation;[3] but, as soon as they were refreshed with a little sleep, they

[1] These *two great generals* ought both to have been hanged, and where any discipline or law prevailed would have been so.---W.

[2] The king himself performed as heroical a part at the second battle of Newbury.---W.

[3] In this the prince was most to blame; he was a soldier and a man of sense, whereas the other was only a fantastical virtuoso on horseback.---W.

both sent a messenger to each other, almost at the same time; the one, "that he was resolved, that morning, to march away with his horse, and as many foot as he had left;" and the other, "that he would, in that instant, repair to the sea-side, and transport himself beyond the seas;" both which they immediately performed; the marquis making haste to Scarborough, there embarked in a poor vessel, and arrived at Hamburgh: the prince, with his army, begun his march the same morning towards Chester. And so York was left to the discretion of sir Thomas Glemham, the governor thereof, to do with it as he thought fit; being in a condition only to deliver it up with more decency, not to defend it against an enemy that would require it.

Whereas, if prince Rupert had stayed with the army he marched away with, at any reasonable distance, it would have been long before the jealousies and breaches, which were between the English and Scotch armies, would have been enough composed to have agreed upon the renewing the siege; such great quantities of provision being already brought into the town: and the Scots talked of nothing but returning into their own country, where the marquis of Mountrose had kindled already a fire, which the parliament of Edinburgh could not quench. But the certain intelligence, "that the prince was marched away without thought of returning, and that the marquis had embarked himself," reconciled them so far, (and nothing else could,) that, after two days, they returned to the posts they had before had in the siege; and so straitened the town, that the governor, when he had no hope of relief, within a fortnight was compelled to deliver it up, upon as good articles for the town, and the gentry that were in it, and for himself, and the few soldiers he had left, as he could propose: and so he marched with all his troops to Carlisle; which he afterwards defended with very remarkable circumstances of courage, industry, and patience.

The times afterwards grew so bad, and the king's affairs succeeded so ill, that there was no opportunity to call either of those two great persons to account for what they had done, or what they had left undone. Nor did either of them ever think

fit to make any particular relation of the grounds of their proceeding,[1] or the causes of their misadventures, by way of excuse to the king, or for their own vindication. Prince Rupert, only to his friends, and after the murder of the king, produced a letter in the king's own hand, which he received when he was upon his march from Lancashire towards York; in which his majesty said, "that his affairs were in so very ill a state, that it would not be enough, though his highness raised the siege from York, if he had not likewise beaten the Scotch army;" which he understood "to amount to no less than a peremptory order to fight, upon what disadvantage soever:" and added, "that the disadvantage was so great, the enemy being so much superior in number, it was no wonder he lost the day." But as the king's letter would not bear that sense, so the greatest cause of the misfortune was the precipitate entering upon the battle, as soon as the enemy drew off; and without consulting at all with the marquis of Newcastle, and his officers; who must needs know more of the enemy, and consequently how they were best to be dealt with, than his highness could do. For he saw not the marquis, till, upon his summons, he came into the field, in the head of a troop of gentlemen, as a private captain, when the battle was ranged; and which, after a very short salutation, immediately begun; those of the marquis's army, who came out of the town, being placed upon the ground left by the prince, and assigned to them; which much indisposed both officers and soldiers to the work in hand, and towards those with whom they were to join in it.

Then it was too late in the day to begin the fight, if all the other ill circumstances had been away; for it was past three in the afternoon: whereas, if it had been deferred till next morning, in which time a full consultation might have been had, and the officers and soldiers grown a little acquainted with each other, better success might have been reasonably expected; nor would the confusion and consternation the other armies were then in, which was the only excuse for the present engagement, have been the less; but, on the contra-

[1] In this they made up in discretion, what they wanted in soldiery.—W.

ry, very much improved by the delay; for the bitterness and animosity between the chief commanders was such, that a great part of the army was marched six miles, when it appeared, by the prince's manner of drawing his army together to that ground, that his resolution was to fight: the speedy intelligence whereof prevailed, and nothing else could, with those who were gone so far, to return; and with the rest, to unite and concur in an action, that, in human reason, could only preserve them; and if that opportunity had not then been so unhappily offered, it was generally believed that the Scots would, the next morning, have continued their march northward; and the earl of Manchester would have been necessitated to have made his retreat, as well as he could, into his associated counties; and it would have been in the prince's power to have chosen which of them he would have destroyed.

But then of all the rest, his going away the next morning with all his troops, in that manner, was most unexcusable; because most prejudicial, and most ruinous to the king's affairs in those parts. Nor did those troops ever after bring any considerable advantage to the king's service, but mouldered away by degrees, and the officers, whereof many were gentlemen of quality and great merit, were killed upon beating up of quarters, and little actions not worth their presence. The truth is, the prince had some secret intimation of the marquis's purpose of immediately leaving the town, and embarking himself for the parts beyond the seas, before the marquis himself sent him word of it; upon which, in great passion and rage, he sent him notice of his resolution presently to be gone, that he who had the command of all those parts, and thereby an obligation not to desert his charge, might be without any imagination that the prince would take such a distracted government upon him, and leave him any excuse for his departure: and if in this joint distemper, with which they were both transported, any persons of discretion and honour had interposed, they might, in all probability, have prevailed with both, for a good understanding between them, or at least for the suspension of their present resolutions, and considering what might best be done. But they both resolved so soon, and so soon executed what they resolved, that very

few had the least suspicion of their intentions, till they were both out of distance to have their conversion attempted.

All that can be said for the marquis is, that he was so utterly tired with a condition and employment so contrary to his humour, nature, and education, that he did not at all consider the means, or the way, that would let him out of it, and free him forever from having more to do with it. And it was a greater wonder, that he sustained the vexation and fatigue of it so long, than that he broke from it with so little circumspection. He was a very fine gentleman, active, and full of courage, and most accomplished in those qualities of horsemanship, dancing, and fencing, which accompany a good breeding; in which his delight was. Besides that he was amorous in poetry and music,[1] to which he indulged the greatest part of his time; and nothing could have tempted him out of those paths of pleasure, which he enjoyed in a full and ample fortune, but honour and ambition to serve the king when he saw him in distress, and abandoned by most of those who were in the highest degree obliged to him, and by him. He loved monarchy, as it was the foundation and support of his own greatness; and the church,[2] as it was well constituted for the splendour and security of the crown; and religion, as it cherished and maintained that order and obedience that was necessary to both; without any other passion for the particular opinions which were grown up in it, and distinguished it into parties, than as he detested whatsoever was like to disturb the public peace.

He had a particular reverence for the person of the king, and the more extraordinary devotion for that of the prince, as he had had the honour to be trusted with his education as his governor; for which office, as he excelled in some, so he wanted other qualifications. Though he had retired from his great trust, and from the court, to decline the insupportable envy which the powerful faction had contracted against him, yet the king was no sooner necessitated to possess him-

[1] This is well expressed to intimate a *pretender* in both.—W.

[2] He loved *monarchy* and the *church*, it seems, just as he loved *poetry* and *music*; the one administered to his *pride*, and the other to his *vanity*.

self of some place of strength, and to raise some force for his defence, but the earl of Newcastle (he was made marquis afterwards) obeyed his first call; and, with great expedition and dexterity, seized upon that town; when till then there was not one port town in England that avowed their obedience to the king: and he then presently raised such regiments of horse and foot, as were necessary for the present state of affairs; all which was done purely by his own interest, and the concurrence of his numerous allies in those northern parts; who with all alacrity obeyed his commands, without any charge to the king; which he was not able to supply.

After the battle of Edge-hill, when the rebels grew so strong in Yorkshire, by the influence their garrison of Hull had upon both the East and West Riding there, that it behoved the king presently to make a general, who might unite all those northern counties in his service, he could not choose any man so fit for it, as the earl of Newcastle, who was not only possessed of a present force, and of that important town, but had a greater reputation and interest in Yorkshire itself, than, at that present, any other man had: the earl of Cumberland being at that time, though of entire affection to the king, much decayed in the vigour of his body and his mind, and unfit for that activity which the season required. And it cannot be denied, that the earl of Newcastle, by his quick march with his troops, as soon as he had received his commission to be general, and in the depth of winter, redeemed, or rescued the city of York from the rebels, when they looked upon it as their own, and had it even within their grasp: and as soon as he was master of it, he raised men apace, and drew an army together, with which he fought many battles, in which he had always (this last only excepted) success and victory.

He liked the pomp and absolute authority of a general well, and preserved the dignity of it[1] to the full; and for the

[1] The noble historian is in nothing more excellent than in accounting for the actions of men by their *characters*, so justly and inimitably drawn, that you see in this clear mirror, as in a magician's glass, the past, the present, and the future.—W.

discharge of the outward state, and circumstances of it, in acts of courtesy, affability, bounty, and generosity, he abounded; which, in the infancy of a war, became him, and made him, for some time, very acceptable to men of all conditions. But the substantial part, and fatigue of a general, he did not in any degree understand, (being utterly unacquainted with war,) nor could submit to; but referred all matters of that nature to the discretion of his lieutenant general King; who, no doubt, was an officer of great experience and ability, yet, being a Scotchman, was in that conjuncture upon more disadvantage than he would have been, if the general himself had been more intent upon his command. In all actions of the field he was still present, and never absent in any battle; in all which he gave instances of an invincible courage and fearlessness in danger; in which the exposing himself notoriously did sometimes change the fortune of the day, when his troops begun to give ground. Such articles of action were no sooner over, than he retired to his delightful company, music, or his softer pleasures, to all which he was so indulgent, and to his ease, that he would not be interrupted upon what occasion soever; insomuch as he sometimes denied admission to the chiefest officers of the army, even to general King himself, for two days together;[1] from whence many inconveniences fell out.

From the beginning, he was without any reverence or regard for the privy-council,[2] with few of whom he had any acquaintance; but was of the other soldiers' mind, that all the business ought to be done by councils of war, and was always angry when there were any overtures of a treaty; and therefore, especially after the queen had landed in Yorkshire, and stayed so long there, he considered any orders he received from Oxford, though from the king himself, more negligently than he ought to have done; and when he thought himself sure of Hull, and was sure that he should be then

[1] What a general! was he likely to be a match for Cromwell, who, in business, would admit a common soldier, not only to his bedchamber, but to his bed?—W.

[2] This agrees very well with what the historian tells us was his motive for *loving monarchy*.—W.

master entirely of all the north, he had no mind to march nearer the king, (as he had then orders to march into the associated counties, when, upon the taking of Bristol, his majesty had a purpose to have marched towards London on the other side,) out of apprehension that he should be eclipsed by the court, and his authority overshadowed by the superiority of prince Rupert;[1] from whom he desired to be at distance: yet when he found himself in distress, and necessitated to draw his army within the walls of York, and saw no way to be relieved but by prince Rupert, who had then done great feats of arms in the relief of Newark, and afterwards in his expedition into Lancashire, where he was at that time, he writ to the king at Oxford, either upon the knowledge that the absoluteness and illimitedness of his commission was generally much spoken of, or out of the conscience of some discourse of his own to that purpose; which might have been reported; "that he hoped his majesty did believe, that he would never make the least scruple to obey the grandchild of king James:" and assuredly, if the prince had cultivated the good inclinations the marquis had towards him, with any civil and gracious condescensions,[2] he would have found him full of duty and regard to his service and interest.

But the strange manner of the prince's coming, and undeliberated throwing himself, and all the king's hopes, into that sudden and unnecessary engagement, by which all the force the marquis had raised, and with so many difficulties preserved, was in a moment cast away and destroyed, so transported him with passion and despair, that he could not compose himself to think of beginning the work again, and involving himself in the same undelightful condition of life, from which he might now be free. He hoped his past meritorious actions might outweigh his present abandoning the thought of future action; and so, without further consideration, as hath

[1] The prince was indeed every way superior to him, even in the fine arts, to which the marquis made such pretensions.—W.

[2] Count Hamilton, in his Memoirs of count Grammont, thus characterizes the prince.—W.

been said, he transported himself out of the kingdom, and took with him general King; upon whom they, who were content to spare the marquis, poured out all the reproaches of "infidelity, treason, and conjunction with his countrymen;" which, without doubt, was the effect of the universal discontent, and the miserable condition to which the people of those northern parts were on the sudden reduced, without the least foundation, or ground for any such reproach: and as he had, throughout the whole course of his life, been generally reputed a man of honour, and had exercised the highest commands under the king of Sweden[1] with extraordinary ability and success, so he had been prosecuted by some of his countrymen with the highest malice, from his very coming into the king's service; and the same malice pursued him after he had left the kingdom, even to his death.

The loss of England came so soon to be lamented, that the loss of York, or the too soon deserting the northern parts, were comparatively no more spoken of; and the constant and noble behaviour of the marquis in the change of his fortune, and his cheerful submission to all the straits, necessities, and discomforts, which are inseparable from banishment, without the least application to the usurpers, who were possessed of his whole estate, and upon which they committed all imaginable and irreparable waste, in destroying all his woods of very great value, and who were still equally abhorred and despised by him; with his readiness and alacrity again to have embarked himself in the king's quarrel, upon the first reasonable occasion, so perfectly reconciled all good men to him, that they rather observed what he had done and suffered for the king and for his country, without further inquiring what he had omitted to do,[2] or been overseen in doing.

This fatal blow, which so much changed the king's condition, that till then was very hopeful, made not such an impression upon his majesty, but that it made him pursue his

[1] What a declension from the king of Sweden to the marquis of Newcastle!—W.

[2] These were good Christians, but bad politicians.—W.

former resolution, to follow the earl of Essex, with the more impatience; having now in truth nothing else to do. But being informed that the earl of Essex had not made any long marches, and that the queen, upon the first news of the earl's drawing near, though she had been little more than a fortnight delivered, had left Exeter, and was removed into Cornwall, from whence, in a short time, her majesty embarked for France, (the prince of Orange having sent some Dutch ships of war to attend the queen's commands in the harbour of Falmouth; and from thence her majesty transported herself,) his majesty marched more slowly, that he might increase his army from Bristol, and other places; and making no doubt, but that he should be able to engage the army of the earl of Essex, who was already near Exeter, before he should be able to return to London: and prince Maurice, who had waited near two years without taking Lyme or Plymouth, the former of which was a little vile fishing town, defended by a small dry ditch, was already withdrawn into Cornwall, having lost much reputation in those parts by his unsuccessful attempts.

The earl of Essex's good fortune now began to decline: and he had not proceeded with his accustomed wariness and skill, but run into labyrinths, from whence he could not disentangle himself. When he had marched to the length of Exeter, which he had some thought of besieging, without any imagination that he could find an enemy to contend with him, having left the king in so ill a condition, and sir William Waller with so good an army waiting upon him, he received the news of the "defeat sir William Waller received; and that the king was come with his whole army into the west in pursuit of him, without being followed by Waller, or any troops to disquiet or retard his march;" which exceedingly surprised him, and made him suspect that the parliament itself had betrayed him, and conspired his ruin.

And the jealousies were now indeed grown very great between them; the parliament looking upon his march into the west, and leaving Waller, to whom they intended the other province, to follow the king, but as a declaration that he would no more fight against the person of the king; and

the earl, on the other side, had well observed the difference betwixt the care and affection the parliament expressed for and towards his army, and the other under the command of the earl of Manchester; which they set so great a price upon, that he thought they would not so much care what became of his. Otherwise, it could not be possible, that, upon so little a brush as Waller had sustained, he could not be able to follow and disturb the king, in a country so enclosed, as he must pass through. In this unexpected strait, upon the first reception of the news, he resolved to return back,[1] and meet and fight with the king, either before he entered Devonshire, or else in Somersetshire; in either of which places he could not be straitened in room, or provisions, or be compelled to fight in a place disadvantageous, or when he had no mind to it; and if he had pursued this resolution, he had done prudently. But the lord Roberts, who was a general officer in his army, of an unsociable nature, and impetuous disposition, full of contradiction in his temper, and of parts so much superior to any in the company, that he could too well maintain and justify all those contradictions, positively opposed the return of the army; but pressed, with his confidence, "that the army should continue its march to Cornwall;" where he undertook to have so great interest, that he made no question, "but the presence of the earl of Essex, with his army, would so unite that whole county to the parliament's service, that it would be easy to defend the passes into the whole county (which are not many) in such

[1] Hitherto the parliament *commanders* had factions amongst themselves; and it was no wonder; for, as they had no thoughts of not returning to their obedience upon terms not agreed on, they would be naturally jealous of one another, and each seek his own peculiar interest: but as soon as this *model* took place, which it did the year following, the new commanders acted with the utmost harmony; and this was as natural; for, never intending to return to their obedience, they had but one common interest, which was the overthrow of monarchy. And these chose Fairfax for their head, who, if he had any other views besides the amusement of fighting, was so exceeding stupid, that they had no apprehension that he should ever penetrate into theirs.—W.

a manner, that the king's army should never be able to enter into Cornwall, nor to retire out of Devonshire without great loss, nor before the parliament would send more forces upon their backs."

The lord Roberts, though inferior in the army, had much greater credit in the parliament than the earl of Essex; and the earl did not think him very kind to him,[1] he being then in great conjunction with sir Harry Vane, whom of all men the earl hated, and looked upon as an enemy. He had never been in Cornwall; and so knew not the situation of the country: and some of the officers, and many others of that country, (as there were with him four or five gentlemen of that country of interest,) concurred fully with the lord Roberts, and promised great matters, if the army marched thither: whereupon the earl departed from his own understanding, and complied with their advice; and so marched the direct way with all his army, horse, foot, and cannon, into that narrow county; and pursued prince Maurice and those forces, which easily retired, westward; until he found himself in straits; where we shall leave him for the present.

After the king had made a small stay at Exeter, where he found his young daughter, of whom the queen had been so lately delivered, under the care and government of the lady Dalkeith, (shortly after countess of Morton by the death of her husband's father,) who had been long before designed by both their majesties to that charge; and having a little refreshed and accommodated his troops, he marched directly to Cornwall; where he found the earl of Essex in such a part of the country on the sea-side, that he quickly, by the general conflux and concurrence of the whole people, upon which the earl had been persuaded so much to depend, found means, with very little fighting, so to straiten his

[1] Roberts, by mere superiority of parts, got the better of Essex's wiser resolution; for he was much indisposed to Roberts, and wanted neither courage nor obstinate resolution to reject the advice of those he did not like. And *Roberts* did not use any of the insinuating arts (for it was not in his nature) to bring over his superior to his direction.—W.

quarters, that there seemed little appearance that he could possibly march away with his army, or compel the king to fight. He was, upon the matter, enclosed in and about Foy; whilst the king lay encamped about Liskard; and no day passed without some skirmishes; in which the earl was more distressed, and many of his considerable officers taken prisoners. And here there happened an accident, that might very well have turned the king's fortune, and deprived him of all the advantages which were in view. The king being always in the army himself, all matters were still debated before him, in the presence of those counsellors who were about him; who, being men of better understandings and better expressions, commonly disposed his majesty to their opinions, at least kept him from concurring in every thing which was proposed by the officers. The counsellors, as hath been said before, were the lord Digby, secretary of state, and sir John Colepepper, master of the rolls, of whose judgment the king had more esteem, even with reference to the war, than of most of the officers of the army; which raised an implacable animosity in the whole army against them.

General Ruthen, who by this time was created earl of Brentford, was general of the army; but, as hath been said, both by reason of his age, and his extreme deafness, was not a man of counsel or words; hardly conceived what was proposed, and as confusedly and obscurely delivered his opinion; and could indeed better judge by his eye than his ear; and in the field well knew what was to be done. Wilmot was lieutenant general of the horse, and at this time the second officer of the army, and had much more credit and authority in it, than any man; which he had not employed to the king's advantage, as his majesty believed. He was a man proud and ambitious, and incapable of being contented; an ordinary officer in marches, and governing his troops. He drank hard, and had a great power over all who did so, which was a great people. He had a more companionable wit even than his rival Goring, and swayed more among the good fellows, from the time of prince Rupert's departure, with whom he could have no contest, he carried him-

self imperiously in all debates, and could by no means endure that the lord Digby and sir John Colepepper should have so much credit with the king in councils of war.

The king had no kindness for him upon an old account, as remembering the part he had acted against the earl of Strafford: however, he had been induced, upon the accidents which happened afterwards, to repose trust in him. And this he knew well enough; and foresaw, that he should be quickly overshadowed in the war; and therefore desired to get out of it, by a seasonable peace; and so, in all his discourses, urged the necessity of it, as he had begun in Buckinghamshire; and, "that the king ought to send propositions to the parliament, in order to obtaining it;" and during that time that the king marched out of Oxford to avoid being besieged, when both Essex and Waller encompassed the town, and afterwards when the king turned upon Waller, and defeated and pursued him, Wilmot had made several cabals among the officers; and disposed them to petition the king, "to send to the parliament again an offer of peace; and that the lord Digby and sir John Colepepper might not be permitted to be present in councils of war;" implying, "that if this might not be granted, they would think of some other way." Which petition, though, by the wisdom of some officers, it was kept from being delivered, yet so provoked the king, that he resolved to take the first opportunity to free himself from his impetuous humour; in which good disposition the lord Digby ceased not to confirm his majesty; and as soon as the news came of the northern defeat, and that the marquis of Newcastle had left the kingdom, he prevailed that Goring might be sent for to attend his majesty; who then proposed to himself to make his nephew prince Rupert general of the army,[1] and Goring general of the horse; which Wilmot could not avowedly have excepted against, the other having been always superior to

[1] If this was not mere nepotism, it shewed the king had no true judgment, but was struck with the eclat of the prince's actions; which had more of show than solidity, otherwise he would not have thought of putting a mere boy at the head of armies fighting for his crown.---W.

him in command; and yet would be such a mortification to him, as he would never have been able to digest.

Whether his apprehensions of this, as his jealous nature had much of sagacity in it,[1] or his restless and mutinous humour, transported him, but he gave not the king time to prosecute that gracious method; but even forced him to a quicker and a rougher remedy: for during the whole march, he discoursed in all places, "that the king must send to the earl of Essex to invite him to a conjunction with him, that so the parliament might be obliged to consent to a peace; and pretended, that he had so good intelligence in that army, as to know that such an invitation would prove effectual, and be acceptable to the earl; who, he knew, was unsatisfied with the parliament's behaviour towards him:" and he was so indiscreet, as to desire a gentleman, with whom he had no intimacy, and who had a pass to go beyond the seas, and must go through the earl's quarters, "that he would remember his service to the earl of Essex; and assure him, that the army so much desired peace, that it should not be in the power of any of those persons about the king to hinder it, if his lordship would treat upon any reasonable propositions." All which kind of carriage and discourses were quickly represented, in their full magnitude,[2] to the king, by the lord Digby; and his majesty's own aversion kindled any spark into a formed distrust. So that after the king came into Cornwall, and had his whole army drawn up on the top of the hill, in view of the earl of Essex, who was in the bottom, and a battle expected every day, upon some new discourse Wilmot made out of pride and vanity, (for there was not, in all the former, the least formed act of sedition in his heart,) the knight marshal, with the assistance of Tom Elliot, who acted the part, arrested him in the king's name of high treason; and dismounted him from his horse in the head of all the troops; and putting a guard upon him. He was pre-

[1] A very fine observation. Sagacity commonly makes men jealous; but here it supposed the jealousy might make Wilmot sagacious.---W.

[2] Characteristic of the famous secretary.---W.

sently sent prisoner to Exeter, without any other ill effect, which might very reasonably have been apprehended in such a conjuncture, when he was indeed generally well beloved, and none of them for whose sakes he was thought to be sacrificed, were at all esteemed:[1] yet, I say, there were no other ill effects of it than a little murmur, which vapoured away. It is possible this execution was the sooner done, upon the news that Goring was upon the way; for within two or three days after, he arrived, and the command of the horse was commanded to him. There was another reformation likewise made at the same time, by the removal of the lord Percy (who had led the van in that creation of peers which had been made at Oxford) from the office of general of the ordnance, which had been without much deliberation conferred upon him a little before; which was very reasonably bestowed upon the lord Hopton, whose promotion was universally approved; the one having no friend, and the other generally beloved.

When the king found himself upon the advantage ground, and that the earl of Essex would in a short time be reduced into great straits, or must fight upon notable disadvantage, his majesty was not without apprehension that he might quickly find the sad effects of the northern victory, by some new army being sent into the west; and Waller with some troops was ready to come out of London; and therefore infinitely desired to work upon the earl, and made some overture to him; which he received no otherwise than with saying, that he had no authority to treat, but would inform the parliament of what had been proposed: upon which all other thoughts were given over but those of fighting. The earl clearly discerned that he could not undertake that engagement with any reasonable hope of success: his army was in distress of all things, which would quickly increase by the manifest aversion the whole country seemed to have, so that they could get no provisions from it; and a party was no sooner sent out upon any occasion, than the king's forces had notice of

[1] He tells you for what; his jovial companionable wit. Nor indeed did these two able men, lord Digby and sir J. Colepepper, deserve much esteem.---W.

it from the people; so that they were usually killed or taken prisoners. In the end, the earl found it necessary to send all his horse away in the night, with hope they might make their way through, and then to put himself and some officers on board some vessel which might land them at Plymouth, where there were, or would quickly be, ships to waft them to London; and then that the foot might make the best condition they could. This consultation was not so secret but that the king had seasonable notice of it, and had as carefully transmitted it to Goring, who lay then quartered at Liskeard, and had, or might have had, all his horse in such a readiness, and caused the narrow lanes to have been so barracadoed and stopped, that it could not have been possible that any number of them could have escaped. But the notice and orders came when he was in one of his usual debauches, which he could in no case master or moderate, but used to entertain them with mirth, and slighting those who sent them as men who took alarums too warmly: and so he continued his delight, till all the body of the enemy's horse under Balfour were passed through his quarters, nor did then pursue them in any time; so that all but such as by the tiring of their horse were forced to stay behind, and so became prisoners, made a secure retreat to London, to the infinite reproach of the king's army and all the garrison in the way. Nor was any body punished or called in question for the supine neglect; and the superior officer being inexcusable, prevented any severe inquisition into the rest. The horse being thus gone, and the earl of Essex embarked, the foot, being a body of near six thousand, under the command of their major general Skippon, who was a good and a punctual officer, he sent to the king's general, the earl of Brentford, to treat and to offer conditions. It was wondered at by many that the king would then grant them any conditions, and not rather compel them to become prisoners of war; but they who took upon them to be most censorious in that point did not know the true state of the king's army, which was in itself very small, inferior to the nunber of the enemy, poor and naked, and not contented; the country which had come in, and made the show with the trained bands, were weary, and many were already gone

to their harvest, which called for the rest. So that the king was contented that, delivering up their arms and cannon and ammunition, they should have liberty to return by slow marches to London, with so much baggage as they carried upon their backs; for preservation whereof they had a guard of horse to conduct them to a place appointed. And upon those terms and in this manner the remainder of that army returned alive to London; where they found their general arrived before them; who had only visited Plymouth for two or three days, whither he had before sent as many soldiers as the place required, and gave such directions as he thought fit for the defence of it: and so in a ship of the royal navy, which attended his commands, he was safely delivered at London; and was there received without any abatement of the respect they had constantly paid him.

The same day that Wilmot was arrested, the king removed another general officer of his army, the lord Percy; who had been made general of the ordnance upon very partial, and not enough deliberated considerations; and put into that office the lord Hopton; whose promotion was universally approved; the one having no friend, and the other being universally beloved. Besides, the lord Percy, (who was the first that had been created a baron at Oxford upon the Queen's intercession; which obliged the king to bestow the same honour on more men) had been as much inclined to mutiny as the lord Wilmot; and was much a bolder speaker, and had none of those faculties, which the other had, of reconciling men to him. Yet even his removal added to the ill humour of the army, too much disposed to discontent, and censuring all that was done: for though he was generally unloved, as a proud and supercilious person, yet he had always three or four persons of good credit and reputation, who were esteemed by him, with whom he lived very well; and though he did not draw the good fellows to him by drinking, yet he eat well; which, in the general scarcity of that time, drew many votaries to him; who bore very ill the want of his table, and so were not without some inclination to murmur even on his behalf.

The very next day after these removals, colonel Goring

appeared; who had waited upon the king the night before at his quarters, with letters from Prince Rupert: and then the army being drawn up, his majesty, attended by the principal officers of the army, rode to every division of the horse, and there declared, "that, at the request of his nephew prince Rupert, and upon his resignation, he made Mr. Goring general of the horse; and commanded them all to obey him; and for the lord Wilmot, although he had, for very good reasons, justly restrained him for the present, yet he had not taken away from him his command in the army;" which declaration visibly raised the countenance of the body of horse, more than the king was pleased with observing: and the very next day the greatest part of the officers delivered a petition, "that his majesty would give them so much light of the lord Wilmot's crimes,[1] that they might see that themselves were not suspected, who had so long obeyed and executed his orders;" which is manifestation enough of the ill disposition the army was in, when they were even in view of the enemy, and of which the king had so much apprehension, in respect of the present posture he was in, that he was too easily persuaded to give them a draught of the articles, by which he was charged: which though they contained so many indiscretions, vanities, and insolencies, that wise and dispassionate men thought he had been proceeded with very justly, yet generally they seemed not to make him so very black, as he had been represented to be; and when the articles were sent to him, he returned so specious an answer to them, that made many men think he had been prosecuted with severity enough. Yet Wilmot himself, when he saw his old mortal enemy Goring, put in the command over him, thought himself incapable of reparation, or a full

[1] He had said, (in page, 1761,) that Wilmot's removal only produced *a little murmur, which vanished away;* yet here we find it produced a great deal more, the necessity of showing the officers the articles against Wilmot, who had been arrested for *high treason* at the head of the troops; whereas the articles only clarged him with *indiscretions, vanities,* and *insolencies,* to which Wilmot returned a *very specious answer.* This, like that of the *five members* before the war, was cooked up by Digby, who never did any thing by halves—W.

vindication; and therefore desired leave to retire into France; and had presently a pass sent him to that purpose; of which he made use as soon as he received it; and so transported himself out of the kingdom; which opened the mouths of many, and made it believed, that he had been sacrificed to some faction and intrigue of the court, without any such misdemeanour as deserved it.

The king had, some days before this, found an opportunity to make a trial whether the earl of Essex, from the notorious indignities which he received from the parliament, and which were visible to all the world, or from the present ill condition which he and his army were reduced to, might be induced to make a conjunction with his majesty. The lord Beauchamp, eldest son to the marquis of Hertford, desired, for the recovery of his health, not then good, to transport himself into France; and to that purpose had a pass from his uncle, the earl of Essex, for himself; monsieur Richaute a Frenchman, who had been his governor; and two servants, to embark at Plymouth; and being now with the king, it was necessary to pass through the earl's quarters. By him the king vouchsafed to write a letter with his own hand to the earl, in which he told him,

"How much it was in his power to restore that peace to the kingdom, which he had professed always to desire; and upon such conditions, as did fully comply with all those ends for which the parliament had first taken up arms: for his majesty was still ready to satisfy all those ends: but that since the invasion of the kingdom by the Scots, all his overtures of peace had been rejected; which must prove the destruction of the kingdom, if he did not, with his authority and power, dispose those at Westminster to accept of a peace that might preserve it;" with all those arguments, that might most reasonably persuade to a conjunction with his majesty, and such gracious expressions of the sense he would always retain of the service and merit, as were most likely to invite him to it. The king desired, that a pass might be procured for Mr. Harding, one of the grooms of the bedchamber to the prince, a gentleman who had been before of much conversation with the earl, and much loved by him;

and the procuring this pass was recommended to monsieur Richaute.

The earl received his nephew very kindly; who delivered the king's letter to him, which he received and read; and being then told by the lord Beauchamp, that monsieur Richaute, who was very well known to him, had somewhat to say to him from the king; the earl called him into his chamber, in the presence only of the lord Beauchamp, and asked him, "if he had any thing to say to him." Richaute told him, "that his principal business was to desire his permission and pass, that Mr. Harding might come to him, who had many things to offer, which, he presumed, would not be unacceptable to him." The earl answered in short, "that he would not permit Mr. Harding to come to him, nor would he have any treaty with the king, having received no warrant for it from the parliament:" upon which, Richaute enlarged himself upon some particulars, which Mr. Harding was to have urged, "of the king's desire of peace, of the concurrence of all the lords, as well those at Oxford, as in the army, in the same desire of preserving the kingdom from a conquest by the Scots;" and other discourse to that purpose; "and of the king's readiness to give him any security for the performance of all he had promised." To all which the earl answered sullenly, "that, according to the commission he had received, he would defend the king's person and posterity;[1] and that the best counsel he could give him was, to go to his parliament."

As soon as the king received this account of his letter, and saw there was nothing to be expected by those addresses, he resolved to push it on the other way, and to fight with the enemy as soon as was possible; and so, the next day, drew up all his army in sight of the enemy; and had many skirmishes between the horse of both armies, till the enemy quitted that part of a large heath upon which they stood,

[1] The two best officers of the presbyterian stamp in the parliament service were, without comparison, Essex and Fairfax; and at the same time, without comparison, the two greatest blockheads, which turned their courage into obstinacy, and thereby made them greatly promote designs which they were most averse to.—W.

and retired to a hill near the park of the lord Mohun, at Boconnocke; they having the possession of his house, where they quartered conveniently. That night both armies, after they had well viewed each other, lay in the field; and many are of opinion, that if the king had that day vigorously advanced upon the enemy, to which his army was well inclined, though upon some disadvantage of ground, they would have been easily defeated: for the king's army was in good heart, and willing to engage; on the contrary, the earl's seemed much surprised, and in confusion, to see the other army so near them. But such censures always attend such conjunctures, and find fault for what is not done, as well as with that which is done.

The next morning the king called a council, to consider whether they should that day compel the enemy to fight; which was concluded not to be reasonable; and that it was better to expect the arrival of sir Richard Greenvil; who was yet in the west of Cornwall, and had a body of eight thousand horse and foot, as was reported, though they were not near that number. It was hereupon ordered, that all the foot should be presently drawn into the enclosures between Boconnocke and the heath; all the fences to the grounds of that country being very good breastworks against the enemy. The king's head quarter was made at the lord Mohun's house, which the earl of Essex had kindly quitted, when the king's army advanced the day before. The horse were quartered, for the most part, between Liskeard and the sea; and every day compelled the earl's forces to retire, and to lodge close together; and in this posture both armies lay within view of each other for three or four days. In this time, that inconvenient spirit, that had possessed so many of the horse officers, appeared again; and some of them, who had conferred with the prisoners, who were every day taken, and some of them officers of as good quality as any they had, were persuaded by them, "that all the obstinacy in Essex, in refusing to treat with the king, proceeded only from his jealousy that when the king had got him into his hands, he would take revenge upon him for all the mischief he had sustained by him; and that if he had any assurance that

what was promised would be complied with, he would be quickly induced to treat."

Upon this excellent evidence, these politic contrivers presumed to prepare a letter, that should be subscribed by the general, and all the superior officers of the army; the beginning of which letter was, "that they had obtained leave of the king to send that letter to him." There they proposed, "that he with six officers, whom he should choose, would the next morning meet with their general, and six other officers, as should be appointed to attend him; and if he would not himself be present, that then six officers of the king's army should meet with six such as he should appoint, at any place that should be thought fit; and that they, and every of them, who subscribed the letter, would, upon the honour and reputation of gentlemen and soldiers, with their lives maintain that whatsoever his majesty should promise, should be performed; and that it should not be in the power of any private person whatsoever, to interrupt or hinder the execution thereof." When they had framed this letter between themselves, and shewed it to many others, whose approbation they received, they resolved to present it to the king, and humbly to desire his permission that it might be sent to the earl of Essex.

How unpardonable soever the presumption and insolence in contriving and framing this letter was, and how penal soever it might justly have been to them, yet, when it was presented to his majesty, many who liked not the manner of it, were persuaded by what they were told, that it might do good; and in the end they prevailed with the king to consent that the officers should sign it; and that the general should send a trumpet with it; his majesty at the same time concluding, that it would find no better reception than his own letter had done; and likewise believing, that the rejecting of it would purge that unruly spirit out of his army, and that he should never more be troubled with those vexatious addresses, and that it might add some spirit and animosity to the officers and soldiers, when they should see, with how much neglect and contempt the earl received their application: and so prince Maurice, general Goring, and all the su-

perior officers of the army, signed the letter; which a trumpet delivered to the earl of Essex; who, the next day, returned his answer to them in these words: "My lords, in the beginning of your letter you express by what authority you send it; I having no authority from the parliament, who have employed me, to treat, cannot give way to it without breach of trust. My lords, I am your humble servant, Essex. Listithiel, Aug. 10, 1644." This short surly answer produced the effect the king wished and expected; they who had been so over-active in contriving the address, were most ashamed of their folly; and the whole army seemed well composed to obtain that by their swords, which they could not by their pen.

Sir Richard Greenvil was now come up to the post where he should be; and, at Bodmin, in his march, had fallen upon a party of the earl's horse, and killed many, and taken others prisoners, and presented himself to the king at Boconnocke; giving his majesty an account of his proceedings, and a particular of his forces; which, after all the high discourses, amounted really but to eighteen hundred foot, and six hundred horse; above one hundred of which were of the queen's troop, (left behind when her majesty embarked for France,) under the command of captain Edward Bret; who had done very good service in the western parts of that county, from the time of the queen's departure, and much confirmed the trained bands of those parts. This troop was presently added to the king's guards under the lord Bernard Stewart, and captain Bret was made major of that regiment.

Though the earl of Essex had but strait and narrow room for his quarters for so great an army of horse and foot, yet he had the good town of Foy and the sea to friend; by which he might reasonably assure himself of store of provisions, the parliament ships having all the jurisdiction there; and so, if he preserved his post, which was so situated that he could not be compelled to fight without giving him great advantage, he might well conclude, that Waller, or some other force sent from the parliament, would be shortly upon the king's back, as his majesty was upon his: and no ques-

tion, this rational confidence was a great motive to him to neglect all overtures made to him by the king; besides the punctuality and stubbornness of his own nature; which whosoever was well acquainted with, might easily have foreseen, what effect all those applications would have produced. It was therefore now resolved to make his quarters yet straiter, and to cut off even his provisions by sea, or a good part thereof. To which purpose sir Richard Greenvil drew his men from Bodmin, and possessed himself of Lanhetherick, a strong house of the lord Roberts, two miles west of Boconnocke, and over the river that runs to Listithiel, and thence to Foy, and likewise to Reprime Bridge; by which the enemy was not only deprived of that useful outlet, but a safe communication made between him and the king's army, which was before interrupted. And on the other side, which was of more importance, sir Jacob Ashley, with a good party of horse and foot, made himself master of View-Hall, another house of the lord Mohun's, over against Foy, and of Pernon Fort, a mile below it, at the mouth of the haven; both which places he found so tenable, that he put captain Page into one, and captain Garraway into the other, with two hundred commanded men, and two or three pieces of ordnance; which these two captains made good, and defended so well, that they made Foy utterly useless to Essex, save for the quartering his men; not suffering any provisions to be brought in to him from the sea that way. And it was exceedingly wondered at by all men, that he, being so long possessed of Foy, did not put strong guards into those places; by which he might have prevented his army's being brought into those extreme necessities they shortly after fell into; which might easily be foreseen, and as easily, that way, have been prevented.

Now the king had leisure to sit still, and warily to expect what invention or stratagem the earl would make use of, to make some attempt upon his army, or to make his own escape. In this posture both armies lay still, without any notable action, for the space of eight or ten days; when the king, seeing no better fruit from all that was hitherto done, resolved to draw his whole army together, and to make his own

quarters yet much nearer, and either to force Essex to fight, or to be uneasy even in his quarters. And it was high time to do so: for it was now certain, that either Waller himself, or some other forces, were already upon their march towards the west. With this resolution the whole army advanced in such a manner, that the enemy was compelled still to retire before them, and to quit their quarters; and, among the rest, a rising ground called Beacon-Hill; which they no sooner quitted, than the king possessed; and immediately caused a square work to be there raised, and a battery made, upon which some pieces of cannon were planted, that shot into their quarters, and did them great hurt; when their cannon, though they returned twenty shot for one, did very little or no harm.

And now the king's forces had a full prospect over all the other's quarters; saw how all their foot and horse were disposed, and from whence they received all their forage and provisions: which when clearly viewed and observed, Goring was sent with the greatest part of the horse, and fifteen hundred foot, a little westward to St. Blase, to drive the enemy yet closer together, and to cut off the provisions they received from thence; which was so well executed, that they did not only possess themselves of St. Austel, and the westerly part of St. Blase, (so that the enemy's horse was reduced to that small extent of earth that is between the river of Foy and that at Blase, which is not above two miles in breadth, and little more in length; in which they had for the most part fed since they came to Listithiel, and therefore it could not now long supply them,) but likewise were masters of the Parr near St. Blase; whereby they deprived them of the chief place of landing the provisions which came by sea. And now the earl begun to be very sensible of the ill condition he was in, and discerned that he should not be able long to remain in that posture; besides, he had received advertisement that the party which was sent for his relief from London, had received some brush in Somersetshire, which would much retard their march; and therefore it behoved him to enter upon new counsels, and to take new resolutions.

It is very true the defeat at Cropredy (in which there did not appear to be one thousand men killed, or taken prisoners) had so totally broken Waller's army, that it could never be brought to fight after: but when he had marched at a distance from the king, to recover the broken spirits of his men, and heard that his majesty was marched directly towards the west, observing likewise that every night very many of his men run from him, he thought it necessary to go himself to London, where he made grievous complaints against the earl of Essex, as if he had purposely exposed him to be affronted; all which was greedily hearkened to, and his person received, and treated, as if he had returned victorious after having defeated the king's army: which was a method very contrary to what was used in the king's quarters, where all accidental misfortunes, how inevitable soever, were still attended with very apparent discountenance.

But when he went himself to London, or presently upon it, he sent his lieutenant general Middleton (a person of whom we shall say much hereafter, and who lived to wipe out the memory of the ill footsteps of his youth; for he was but eighteen years of age when he was first led into rebellion) with a body of three thousand horse and dragoons, to follow the king into the west, and to wait upon his rear, with orders to reduce in his way Donnington-castle, the house of a private gentleman near Newbury, in which there were a company or two of foot of the king's; and which they believed would be delivered up as soon as demanded; being a place, as they thought, of little strength. But Middleton found it so well defended by colonel Bois, who was governor of it, that, after he had lost at least three hundred officers and soldiers in attempting to take it, he was compelled to recommend it to the governor of Abingdon, to send an officer and some troops to block it up from infesting that great road into the west; and himself prosecuted his march to follow the king.

In Somersetshire, he heard of great magazines of all provisions, made for the supply of the king's army, which were sent every day by strong convoys to Exeter, there to wait

further orders. To surprise these provisions he sent major Carr, with five hundred horse; who fell into the village where the convoy was, and was very like to have mastered them, when sir Francis Doddington, with a troop of horse, and some foot from Bridgewater, came seasonably to their relief; and after a very sharp conflict, in which two or three good officers of the king's were killed, and among them major Killigrew, a very hopeful young man, the son of a gallant and most deserving father, he totally routed the enemy; killed thirty or forty upon the place; and had the pursuit of them two or three miles; in which major Carr, who commanded the party, and many other officers, were taken; and many others desperately wounded; and recovered all that they had taken: which sharp encounters, where always many more men are lost, than are killed, or taken prisoners, put such a stop to Middleton's march, that he was glad to retire back to Sherborne, that he might refresh the weariness, and recover the spirits of his men. This was the defeat, or obstruction, which the earl of Essex had intelligence that the forces had met with coming to his relief; and which made him despair of any succour that way.

When the earl found himself in this condition, and that, within very few days, he must be without any provisions for his army; he resolved, that sir William Balfour should use his utmost endeavour to break through with his whole body of horse, and to save them the best he could; and then that he himself would embark his foot at Foy, and with them escape by sea. And two foot soldiers of the army, whereof one was a Frenchman, came over from them, and assured the king, "that they intended, that night, to break through with their horse, which were all then drawn on that side the river, and town of Listithiel; and that the foot were to march to Foy, where they should be embarked." This intelligence agreed with what they otherwise received, and was believed as it ought to be; and thereupon order was given, "that both armies" (for that under prince Maurice was looked upon as distinct, and always so quartered) "should stand to their arms all that night; and if the horse attempted an escape, fall on them from both quarters;" the

passage between them, through which they must go, being but a musket-shot over; and they could not avoid going very near a very little cottage, that was well fortified; in which fifty musketeers were placed. Advertisement was sent to Goring, and all the horse; and the orders renewed, which had formerly been given, for the breaking down the bridges, and cutting down the trees near the highway, to obstruct their passage.

The effect of all this providence was not such as was reasonably to be expected. The night grew dark and misty, as the enemy could wish; and about three in the morning, the whole body of the horse passed with great silence between the armies, and within pistol-shot of the cottage, without so much as one musket discharged at them. At the break of day, the horse were discovered marching over the heath, beyond the reach of the foot; and there was only at hand the earl of Cleveland's brigade, the body of the king's horse being at a greater distance. That brigade, to which some other troops which had taken the alarm joined, followed them in the rear; and killed some, and took more prisoners: but stronger parties of the enemy frequently turning upon them, and the whole body often making a stand, they were often compelled to retire; yet followed in that manner, that they killed and took about a hundred; which was the greatest damage they sustained in their whole march. The notice and orders came to Goring, when he was in one of his jovial exercises; which he received with mirth, and slighting those who sent them, as men who took alarms too warmly; and he continued his delights, till all the enemy's horse were passed through his quarters; nor did then pursue them in any time. So that, excepting such who, by the tiring of their horses, became prisoners, Balfour continued his march even to London, with less loss or trouble than can be imagined, to the infinite reproach of the king's army, and of all his garrisons in the way. Nor was any man called in question for this supine neglect; it being not thought fit to make severe inquisition into the behaviour of the rest, when it was so notoriously known, how the superior officer had failed in his duty.

The next morning, after the horse were gone, the earl drew all his foot together, and quitted Listithiel, and marched towards Foy; having left order for the breaking down that bridge. But his majesty himself from his new fort discerned it, and sent a company of musketeers, who quickly beat those that were left; and thereby preserved the bridge; over which the king presently marched to overtake the rear of the army, which marched so fast, yet in good order, that they left two demi-culverins, and two other very good guns, and some ammunition, to be disposed of by the king. That day was spent in smart skirmishes, in which many fell; and if the king's horse had been more, whereof he had only two troops of his guards, (which did good service,) it would have proved a bloody day to the enemy. The night coming on, the king lay in the field, his own quarters being so near the enemy, that they discharged many cannon-shot, which fell within few yards of him, when he was at supper. Sunday being the next day, and the first day of September, in the morning, Butler, lieutenant colonel to the earl of Essex, who had been taken prisoner at Boconnocke, and was exchanged for an officer of the king's, came from the earl to desire a parley. As soon as he was sent away, the earl embarked himself, with the lord Roberts, and such other officers as he had most kindness for, in a vessel at Foy; and so escaped into Plymouth; leaving all his army of foot, cannon, and ammunition, to the care of major general Skippon; who was to make as good conditions for them as he could; and after a very short stay in Plymouth, he went on board a ship of the royal navy, that attended there; and was, within few days, delivered at London; where he was received without any abatement of the respect they had constantly paid him; nor was it less than they could have shewed to him, if he had not only brought back his own army, but the king himself likewise with him.

The king consented to the parley; upon which a cessation was concluded; and hostages interchangeably delivered; and then the enemy sent propositions, such as upon delivery of a strong fortified town, after a handsome defence, are usually granted. But they quickly found they were not looked

upon as men in that condition; and so, in the end, they were contented to deliver up all their cannon; which, with the four taken two or three days before, were eight and thirty pieces of cannon: a hundred barrels of powder, with match and bullets proportionable; and about six thousand arms; which being done, "the officers were to have liberty to wear their swords, and to pass with their own money, and proper goods; and, to secure them from plunder, they were to have a convoy to Poole, or Southampton; all their sick and wounded might stay in Foy till they were recovered, and then have passes to Plymouth."

This agreement was executed accordingly, on Monday the second of September; and though it was near evening before all was finished, they would march away that night; and though all care was taken to preserve them from violence, yet first at Listithiel, where they had been long quartered, and in other towns through which they had formerly passed, the inhabitants, especially the women, who pretended to see their own clothes and goods about them, which they had been plundered of, treated them very rudely, even to stripping of some of the soldiers, and more of their wives, who had before behaved themselves with great insolence in the march. That night there came about one hundred of them to the king's army, and of the six thousand, for so many marched out of Foy, there did not a third part come to Southampton; where the king's convoy left them; to which Skippon gave a large testimony under his hand, "that they had carried themselves with great civility towards them, and fully complied with their obligation."

Whilst the king was in the west, though he had left Oxford in a very ill state in respect of provisions and fortifications, and soldiers, and of the different humours of those who remained there, the town being full of lords, (besides those of the council,) and of persons of the best quality, with very many ladies, who, when not pleased themselves, kept others from being so;[1] yet, in his absence, they who were solicit-

[1] Arising from that disposition in the sex to communicate their griefs, and to make them the constant subject of their conversation, whereby the infection of them soon becomes general.---W.

ous to carry on his service, concurred and agreed so well together, that they prevailed with the rest to do every thing that was necessary. They caused provisions of corn to be laid in, in great proportions; assigning the public schools to that purpose; and committing the custody of them to the owners of the corn. They had raised so many volunteers, that their guards were well kept, and there was need they should be so; for when both the parliament armies were before the town, major general Brown, a citizen of London of good reputation, and a stout man, had been left in Abingdon with a strong garrison; from whence, being superior in power, he infested Oxford very much; which gave them the more reason to prosecute the fortifications; which, in the most important places, they brought to a good perfection; and when they had no more apprehension of a siege, Waller being at a distance, and not able to follow the king, and less able to sit down before Oxford, they resolved to do somewhat to be talked of.

The king had, before his departure, found they were not satisfied with their governor, and very apprehensive of his rudeness, and want of incomplacency. Upon the death of sir William Penniman, who had been governor of Oxford, to the great satisfaction of all men, being a very brave and generous person, and who performed all manner of civilities to all sorts of people, as having had a very good education, and well understanding the manners of the court, (the queen being then in Oxford,) her majesty, who thought herself the safer for being under the charge and care of a Roman catholic, prevailed with the king to confer that charge upon sir Arthur Aston; who had been at Reading, and had the fortune to be very much esteemed, where he was not known; and very much detested, where he was;[1] and he was by this time too well known at Oxford, to be beloved by any; which the king well understood, and was the more troubled, because he saw the prejudice was universal, and with too much reason; and therefore his majesty had given an extra-

[1] A scandalous instance of the king's uxorious temper. After this, what esteem could he expect from his friends; or what fear or trust would his enemies either in arms, or on a treaty, have of him.---W.

ordinary commission to the lords of his council, to whose authority he was to submit, which obliged him to live with a little more respect towards them, than he desired to do; being a man of a rough nature, and so given up to an immoderate love of money, that he cared not by what unrighteous ways he exacted it.[1] There were likewise some officers of name, who, having then no charge in the army, stayed in the town; and those, by the king's direction, the lords disposed to assist the governor; and particularly, to take care of the several quarters of the town; one whereof was assigned to each of them: and amongst them, colonel Gage was one; who having the English regiment in Flanders, had got leave there to make offer of his service to the king; and to that purpose was newly come from thence to Oxford; and was indeed a man of extraordinary parts, both as a soldier and a wise man; of whom there will be hereafter more occasion to enlarge.

He was in truth a very extraordinary man, of a large and very graceful person, of an honourable extraction, his grandfather having been knight of the garter; besides his great experience and abilities as a soldier, which were very eminent, he had very great parts of breeding, being a very good scholar in the polite parts of learning, a great master in the Spanish and Italian tongues, besides the French and the Dutch, which he spoke in great perfection; having scarce been in England in twenty years before. He was likewise very conversant in courts; having for many years been much esteemed in that of the archduke and duchess, Albert and Isabella, at Brussels; which was a great and very regular court at that time; so that he deserved to be looked upon as a wise and accomplished person. Of this gentleman, the lords of the council had a singular esteem, and consulted fre-

[1] Ludlow tells us, that at the storm of Drogheda, where he fell in the assault, the soldiers, who had his plunder, found a girdle under his shirt, within which three or four hundred broad pieces were carefully quilted. He had early in the service lost a leg, and the soldiers had a common report among themselves, that the fictitious leg was of gold, apparently arising from his known love of it. It was in pursuit of this imaginary leg that Cromwell's soldiers found the girdle.---W.

quently with him, whilst they looked to be besieged; and thought Oxford to be the more secure for his being in it; which rendered him so ungrateful to the governor, sir Arthur, that he crossed him in any thing he proposed, and hated him perfectly; as they were of natures, and manners, as different as men can be.

The garrison of Basing-house, the seat of the marquis of Winchester, in which himself was and commanded, had been now straitly besieged, for the space of above three months, by a conjunction of the parliament troops of Hampshire and Sussex, under the command of Norton, Onslow, Jarvis, Whitehead, and Morley, all colonels of regiments, and now united in this service under the command of Norton; a man of spirit, and of the greatest fortune of all the rest. It was so closely begirt before the king's march into the west, and was looked upon as a place of such importance, that when the king sent notice to Oxford of his resolution to march into the west, the council humbly desired his majesty, "that he would make Basing his way, and thereby relieve it," which his majesty found would have retarded his march too much, and might have invited Waller the sooner to follow him; and therefore declined it. From that time, the marquis, by frequent expresses, importuned the lords of the council "to provide, in some manner, for his relief; and not to suffer his person, and a place from whence the rebels received so much prejudice, to fall into their hands." The lady marchioness, his wife, was then in Oxford; and solicited very diligently the timely preservation of her husband; which made every body desire to gratify her, being a lady of great honour and alliance, as sister to the earl of Essex, and to the lady marchioness of Hertford; who was likewise in the town, and engaged her husband to take this business to heart: and all the Roman catholics, who were numerous in the town, looked upon themselves as concerned to contribute all they could to the good work, and so offered to list themselves and their servants in the service.

The council, both upon public and private motives, was very heartily disposed to effect it; and had several conferences together, and with the officers; in all which the gover-

nor too reasonably opposed the design, "as full of more difficulties, and liable to greater damages, than any soldier, who understood command, would expose himself and the king's service to;" and protested, "that he would not suffer any of the small garrison that was under his charge to be hazarded in the attempt." It was very true, Basing was near forty miles from Oxford, and, in the way between them, the enemy had a strong garrison of horse and foot at Abingdon, and as strong at Reading, whose horse every day visited all the highways near, besides a body of horse and dragoons quartered at Newbury; so that it appeared to most men hardly possible to send a party to Basing, and impossible for that party to return to Oxford, if they should be able to get to Basing: yet new importunities from the marquis, with a positive declaration, "that he could not defend it above ten days, and must then submit to the worst conditions the rebels were like to grant to his person, and to his religion;" and new instances from his lady prevailed with the lords to enter upon a new consultation; in which the governor persisted in his old resolution, as seeing no cause to change it.

In this debate colonel Gage declared, "that though he thought the service full of hazard, especially for the return; yet if the lords would, by listing their own servants, persuade the gentlemen in the town to do the like, and engage their own persons, whereby a good troop or two of horse might be raised, (upon which the principal dependence must be,) he would willingly, if there were nobody else thought fitter for it, undertake the conduct of them himself; and hoped he should give a good account of it:" which being offered with great cheerfulness by a person, of whose prudence, as well as courage, they had a full confidence, they all resolved to do the utmost that was in their power to make it effectual.

There was about this time, by the surrender of Greenland-house, (which could not possibly be longer defended, the whole structure being beaten down by the cannon,) the regiment of colonel Hawkins marched into Oxford, amounting to near three hundred; to which as many others joined as made it up four hundred men. The lords mounted their servants upon their own horses; and they, with the volun-

teers, who frankly listed themselves, amounted to a body of two hundred and fifty very good horse, all put under the command of colonel William Web, an excellent officer, bred up in Flanders in some emulation with colonel Gage; and who, upon the catholic interest, was at this time contented to serve under him. With this small party for so great an action, Gage marched out of Oxford in the beginning of the night; and, by the morning, reached the place where he intended to refresh himself and his troops; which was a wood near Wallingford; from whence he despatched an express to sir William Ogle, governor of Winchester; who had made a promise to the lords of the council, "that, whensoever they would endeavour the raising of the siege before Basing, he would send one hundred horse and three hundred foot out of his garrison, for their assistance;" and a presumption upon this aid was the principal motive for the undertaking: and so he was directed, at what hour in the morning his party should fall into Basing park, in the rear of the rebels' quarters; whilst Gage himself would fall on the other side; the marquis being desired at the same time to make frequent sallies from the house.

After some hours of refreshment in the morning, and sending this express to Winchester, the troops marched through by-lanes to Aldermaston, a village out of any great road; where they intended to take more rest that night. They had marched, from the time they left Oxford, with orange-tawny scarfs and ribbons, that they might be taken for the parliament soldiers; and hoped, by that artifice, to have passed undiscovered even to the approach upon the besiegers. But the party of horse which was sent before to Aldermaston, found there some of the parliament horse, and, forgetting their orange-tawny scarfs, fell upon them; and killed some, and took six or seven prisoners; whereby the secret was discovered, and notice quickly sent to Basing of the approaching danger; which accident made their stay shorter at that village than was intended, and than the weariness of the soldiers required. About eleven of the clock, they begun their march again; which they continued all that night; the horsemen often alighting, that the foot might

ride, and others taking many of them behind them; however they could not but be extremely weary and surbated.

Between four and five of the clock on Wednesday morning, it having been Monday night that they left Oxford, they arrived within a mile of Basing; where an officer, sent from sir William Ogle, came to them to let them know, "that he durst not send his troops so far, in regard many of the enemy's horse lay between Winchester and Basing." This broke all the colonel's measures; and, since there was no receding, made him change the whole method of his proceedings; and, instead of dividing his forces, and falling on in several places, as he meant to have done if the Winchester forces had complied with their obligation, or if his march had been undiscovered, he resolved now to fall on jointly with all his body in one place; in order to which, he commanded the men to be ranged in battalions; and rid to every squadron, giving them such words as were proper to the occasion; which no man could more pertinently deliver, or with a better grace: he commanded every man to tie a white tape ribbon, or handkerchief, above the elbow of their right arm; and gave them the word *St. George;* which was the sign and the *word* that he had sent before to the marquis, lest in his sallies their men, for want of distinction, might fall foul of each other.

Thus they marched towards the house, colonel Web leading the right wing, and lieutenant colonel Bunkly the left of the horse; and Gage himself the foot. They had not marched far, when at the upper end of a large campaign field, upon a little rising of an hill, they discerned a body of five cornets of horse very full, standing in very good order to receive them. But before any impression could be made upon them, the colonel must pass between two hedges lined very thick with musketeers; from whom the horse very courageously bore a smart volley, and then charged the enemy's horse so gallantly, that, after a shorter resistance than was expected from the known courage of Norton, though many of his men fell, they gave ground; and at last plainly run to a safe place, beyond which they could not be pursued. The foot disputed the business much better, and

being beaten from hedge to hedge, retired into their quarters and works; which they did not abandon in less than two hours; and then a free entrance into the house was gained on that side, where the colonel only stayed to salute the marquis, and to put in the ammunition he had brought with him; which was only twelve barrels of powder, and twelve hundred weight of match; and immediately marched with his horse and foot to Basingstoke, a good market-town two miles from the house; leaving one hundred foot to be led, by some officers of the garrison, to the town of Basing, a village but a mile distant. In Basingstoke they found store of wheat, malt, oats, salt, bacon, cheese, and butter; as much of which was all that day sent to the house, as they could find carts or horses to transport, together with fourteen barrels of powder, and some muskets, and forty or fifty head of cattle, with above one hundred sheep: whilst the other party, that went to Basing town, beat the enemy that was quartered there, after having killed forty or fifty of them; some fled into the church, where they were quickly taken prisoners; and, among them, two captains, Jarvise and Jephson, the two eldest sons of two of the greatest rebels of that country, and both heirs to good fortunes, who were carried prisoners to Basing-house; the rest, who besieged that side, being fled into a strong fort which they had raised in the park. The colonel spent that and the next day in sending all manner of provisions into the house; and then, reasonably computing that the garrison was well provided for two months, he thought of his retreat to Oxford: which it was time to do: for besides that Norton had drawn all his men together, who had been dismayed, with all the troops which lay quartered within any distance, and appeared within sight of the house more numerous and gay than before, as if he meant to be revenged before they parted; he was likewise well informed by the persons he had employed, that the enemy from Abingdon had lodged themselves at Aldermaston, and those from Reading and Newbury, in two other villages upon the river Kennet; over which he was to pass.

Hereupon, that he might take away the apprehension that he meant suddenly to depart, he sent out orders, which he

was sure would come into the enemy's hands, to two or three villages next the house, "that they should, by the next day noon, send such proportions of corn into Basing-house, as were mentioned in the warrants; upon pain, if they failed by the time, to have a thousand horse and dragoons sent to fire the towns." This being done, and all his men drawn together about eleven of the clock at night, Thursday the second night after he came thither, the marquis giving him two or three guides who knew the country exactly, he marched from Basing without sound of drum or trumpet, and passed the Kennet, undiscovered, by a ford near a bridge which the enemy had broke down; and thereby thought they had secured that passage; the horse taking the foot *en croupe;* and then, marching by-ways, in the morning they likewise passed over the Thames, at a ford little more than a mile from Reading; and so escaped the enemy, and got before night to Wallingford; where he securely rested, and refreshed his men that night; and the next day arrived safe at Oxford; having lost only two captains, and two or three other gentlemen, and common men; in all to the number of eleven; and forty or fifty wounded, but not dangerously. What number the enemy lost could not be known; but it was believed they lost many, besides above one hundred prisoners that were taken; and it was confessed by enemies as well as friends, that it was as soldierly an action as had been performed in the war on either side; and redounded very much to the reputation of the commander.

The next day after the army of Essex was gone, and dissolved, the king returned to his quarters at Boconnocke, and stayed there only a day to refresh his men; having sent, the day before, Greenvil, with the Cornish horse and foot, towards Plymouth, to join with Goring in the pursuit of Balfour, and that body of horse; which, by passsing over the bridge near Salt-ash, they might easily have done. But he slackened his march that he might possess Salt-ash, which the enemy had quitted, and left therein eleven pieces of cannon, with some arms and ammunition; which, together with the town, was not worth his unwarrantable stay. This

kept him from joining with Goring; who thereby, and for want of those foot, excused his not fighting with Balfour when he was within distance; but contented himself with sending a commanded party to follow his rear; and in that too eager a pursuit, captain Samuel Wainman, a young man of extraordinary parts and expectation, the son of a very wise and eminent father, was lost, to the irreparable damage of a noble family. Thus Balfour, by an orderly and well governed march, passed above one hundred miles in the king's quarters, as hath been said before, without any considerable loss, to a place of safety within their own precincts.

The fear and apprehension of the enemy was no sooner over, than the murmur begun, "that the king had been persuaded to grant too good conditions to that body of foot; and that he might well have forced them to have submitted to his mercy, as well as to have laid down their arms; and so have made both officers and soldiers to become prisoners of war: by which the enemy would not have been able so soon to have raised another army." But they who undertook to censure that action, how great a number soever they were, did not at all understand the present temper and constitution of the king's army; which then was not near so strong as it was reputed to be. Whatever it might have done by a brisk and vigorous attempt, when it first entered Cornwall, which was in the beginning of August, and when a party of his majesty's horse surprised and seized the earl of Essex's own lieutenant colonel, and many other officers of name at Boconnocke, before his majesty was suspected to be in any near distance: I say, whatever might have been then done, in that consternation the enemy was then in, the case was very much altered in the beginning of September, when the articles were made; and when the number of the foot who laid down their arms was in truth superior to those of the king's, (as it will appear anon,) when his army marched out of Cornwall. The oversight, which was a great one, was on the other side, when their horse broke through. If they had then known, and it was hardly possible they should not know it, that all the king's

horse, his guard only excepted, were at that time quartered behind them, about St. Blase, their foot might very well have marched away with their horse, their cannon only being left behind, and having got but four or five hours before, which they might easily, and as undiscerned have done, the king's army in the condition and state it was in, naked and unshod, would through those enclosed parts, narrow lanes, and deep ditches, in Devon and Somerset, have been able to have done them little harm: besides the king very well knew, at the time the articles were made, that Middleton, notwithstanding all his affronts, was then come to Tiverton; and therefore there can be no doubt, that his majesty, in those condescensions, proceeded with no less prudence than clemency.

After this victory, the king thought fit to renew his offer of peace; and sent a message to the two houses of parliament, to desire that there might be a treaty to that purpose; which message was sent by a trumpet to the earl of Essex, after his repair to London, to be delivered by him, of which there was no consideration taken in three months after the receipt of it. This done, the king was persuaded, in his way (as it was not much out of it) to look upon Plymouth; for so far it might be presumed that the Cornish troops, how impatient soever they were to be at their harvest, would attend him: and if he could, by appearing before it, become master of it, which was not thought improbable, he would return to Oxford in great triumph, and leave the west thoroughly reduced; for then Lyme could not hold out, and he might be sure to carry an army with him strongly recruited; but if it proved not a work of ease and expedition, he might proceed in his march without further stay; and he quickly found it necessary to do so; having sent a summons to the town, and received a rude answer to it: for the earl of Essex had left the lord Roberts governor in that town; a man of a sour and surly nature, a great opiniâtre, and one who must be overcome before he would believe that he could be so. The king, finding no good could be done with him, and that the reducing the town would require some time, pursued his former resolution, and marched away; having com-

mitted the blocking up of Plymouth to sir Richard Greenvil, a man who had been bred a soldier, and of great expectation, but of greater promises; having with all manner of assurance undertaken to take the town by Christmas, if such conditions might be performed to him, all which were punctually complied with; whilst he made his quarters as far as ever they had been formerly from the town; beginning his war first upon his wife,[1] who had been long in possession of her own fortune, by virtue of a decree in chancery, many years before the troubles; and seizing upon all she had, and then making himself master of all their estates who were in the service of the parliament, without doing any thing of importance upon the town; only upon the first message between the lord Roberts and him, there arose so mortal a misunderstanding, that there was never civility or quarter observed between them; but such as were taken on either side between them were put to the sword, or, which was worse, to the halter.

Since there will be often occasion to mention this gentleman, sir Richard Greenvil, in the ensuing discourse, and because many men believed, that he was hardly dealt with in the next year, where all the proceedings will be set down at large, it will not be unfit, in this place, to say somewhat of him, and of the manner and merit of his entering into the king's service some months before the time we are now upon. He was of a very ancient and worthy family in Cornwall, which had, in several ages, produced men of great courage, and very signal in their fidelity to, and service of, the crown; and was himself younger brother (though in his nature, or humour, not of kin to him) to the brave sir Bevil Greenvil, who so courageously lost his life in the battle of Lansdown. Being a younger brother, and a very young man, he went into the Low Countries to learn the profes-

[1] This expression of contempt was well deserved. The historian knew sir Richard Greenvil and his actions well. He has been accused of prejudice in disfavour of this man, in the long account of his conduct; but neither the historian's nature, nor his regard for Greenvil's family, could have induced him to deviate from truth, to the prejudice of a man engaged with him in the same cause.---W.

sion of a soldier; to which he had dedicated himself under the greatest general of that age, prince Maurice, and in the regiment of my lord Vere, who was general of all the English. In that service he was looked upon as a man of courage, and a diligent officer, in the quality of a captain, to which he attained after few years' service. About this time, in the end of the reign of king James, the war broke out between England and Spain; and in the expedition to Cales, this gentleman served as a major to a regiment of foot, and continued in the same command, in the war that soon after followed against France; and, at the Isle of Rhee, insinuated himself into the very good grace of the duke of Buckingham, who was the general in that invasion; and after the unfortunate retreat from thence, was made colonel of a regiment with general approbation, and as an officer that well deserved it.

His credit every day increased with the duke; who, out of the generosity of his nature, as a most generous person he was, resolved to raise his fortune; towards the beginning whereof, by his countenance and solicitation, he prevailed with a rich widow to marry him, who had been a lady of extraordinary beauty, which she had not yet outlived; and though she had no great dower by her husband, a younger brother of the earl of Suffolk; yet she inherited a fair fortune of her own, near Plymouth; and was besides very rich in a personal estate, and was looked upon as the richest marriage of the west. This lady, by the duke's credit, sir Richard Greenvil (for he was now made a knight and baronet) obtained; and was thereby possessed of a plentiful estate upon the borders of his own country; and where his own family had great credit and authority. The war being shortly at an end, and he deprived of his great patron, had nothing now to depend upon but the fortune of his wife; which, though ample enough to have supported the expense a person of his quality ought to have made, was not large enough to satisfy his vanity and ambition; nor so great, as he, upon common reports, had promised himself by her. By not being enough pleased with her fortune, he grew less pleased with his wife; who, being a woman of a haughty and impe-

rious nature, and of a wit superior to his, quickly resented the disrespect she received from him; and in no degree studied to make herself easy to him. After some years spent together in these domestic unsociable contestations, in which he possessed himself of all her estate, as the sole master of it, without allowing her, out of her own, any competency for herself, and indulged to himself all those licenses in her own house, which to women are most grievous, she found means to withdraw herself from him; and was with all kindness received into that family, in which she had before been married, and was always very much respected.

Her absence was not ingrateful to him, till the tenants refused to pay him any more rent, and he found himself on a sudden deprived of her whole estate, which was all he had to live upon: for it appeared now, that she had, before her marriage with him, settled her entire fortune so absolutely upon the earl of Suffolk, that the present right was in him, and he required the rents to be paid to him. This begat a suit in the chancery between sir Richard Greenvil and the then earl of Suffolk, before the lord Coventry, who found the conveyances in law to be so firm, that he could not only not relieve sir Richard Greenvil in equity, but that in justice he must decree the land to the earl; which he did. This very sensible mortification transported him so much, that, being a man who used to speak very bitterly of those he did not love, after all endeavours to have engaged the earl in a personal conflict, he revenged himself upon him in such opprobrious language, as the government and justice of that time would not permit to pass unpunished; and the earl appealed for reparation to the court of star-chamber; where sir Richard was decreed to pay three thousand pounds for damages to him; and was likewise fined the sum of three thousand pounds to the king; who gave the fine likewise to the earl: so that sir Richard was committed to the prison of the Fleet in execution for the whole six thousand pounds; which at that time was thought by all men to be a very severe and rigorous decree, and drew a general compassion towards the unhappy gentleman.

After he had endured many years of strict imprisonment,

a little before the beginning of the late troubles, he made his escape out of the prison; and transporting himself beyond the seas, remained there till the parliament was called that produced so many miseries to the kingdom; and when he heard that many decrees which had been made, in that time, by the court of star-chamber, were repealed, and the persons grieved, absolved from those penalties, he likewise returned, and petitioned to have his cause heard; for which a committee was appointed; but before it could be brought to any conclusion, the rebellion broke out in Ireland. Among the first troops that were raised, and transported for the suppression thereof, by the parliament, (to whom the king had unhappily committed the prosecution thereof,) sir Richard Greenvil, upon the fame of being a good officer, was sent over with a very good troop of horse; and was major of the earl of Leicester's own regiment of horse, and was very much esteemed by him, and the more by the parliament, for the signal acts of cruelty he did every day commit upon the Irish; which were of so many kinds upon both sexes, young and old, hanging old men who were bedrid, because they would not discover where their money was, that he believed they had; and old women, some of quality, after he had plundered them, and found less than he expected; that they can hardly be believed, though notoriously known to be true.

After the cessation was made in Ireland, he pretended that his conscience would not give him leave to stay there, and was much the more welcome to the parliament, for declaring so heartily against that cessation; and sir William Waller being in the beginning of this year to make his expedition into the west, after the battle of Alresford, sir Richard Greenvil was either commended to him, or invited by him, to command the horse under him; which he cheerfully accepted, not without many insinuations, how much his interest in Devonshire and Cornwall would advance theirs. He received from the parliament a great sum of money, for the making his equipage; in which he always affected more than ordinary lustre; and sir William Waller communicated to him all his designs, with the ground and foundation of them, as to an

entire friend, and an officer of that eminence, from whose advice he meant to govern his own conduct.

His first and principal design was to surprise Basing-house, by a correspondence with the lord Edward Pawlet, brother to the marquis of Winchester, and then with him, as unsuspected as a brother ought to be. And for the better execution of this, sir Richard Greenvil was sent before with a body of the horse, that all things might be well disposed, and prepared against the time Waller himself should come to him. He appointed a rendezvous for the horse at Bagshot, and the same day marched out of London only with his equipage; which was very noble; a coach and six horses, a wagon and six horses, many led horses, and many servants: with those, when he came to Stanes, he left the Bagshot-road, and marched directly to Reading, where the king's garrison then was; and thence, without delay, to Oxford, where he was very graciously received by the king, and the more, because he was not expected. He communicated then to the king the whole design of the surprise of Basing; upon which the king sent an express immediately to the marquis, with all the particular information; who thereupon seized upon his brother, and the other conspirators; who confessed all, with all the circumstances of the correspondence and combination. The marquis prevailed with the king, that he might only turn his brother out of the garrison, after justice was done upon his complices. This very happy and seasonable discovery preserved that important place; which, without it, had infallibly been lost within few days, and therefore could not but much endear the person of the discoverer; upon whom the parliament thundered out all those reproaches, which his deserting them in such a manner was liable to; and denounced all those judgments upon him of attainder, confiscation, and incapacity of pardon, which they used to do against those, who, they thought, had done them most mischief, or against whom they were most incensed: which was all the excuse he could make for his proceedings against those of their party, who fell into his hands afterwards where he commanded.

From Oxford he went quickly into the west, before he had any command there; declaring that he would assist co-

lonel Digby; who, upon prince Maurice's departure from thence with his army, was left to block up Plymouth; which he did with much courage and soldierly ability. And to him he had letters from the king, that he should put sir Richard Greenvil into the possession of his wife's estate, that lay within his quarters, and which was justly liable to sequestration by her living in London, and being too zealously of that party; which the colonel punctually did. And so he came, after so many years, to be again possessed of all that estate: which was what he most set his heart upon.[1]

One day he made a visit from his house, which he called his own, to the colonel; and dined with him; and the colonel civilly sent half a dozen troopers to wait on him home, lest any of the garrison, in their usual excursions, might meet with him. And in his return home, he saw four or five fellows coming out of a neighbour wood, with burdens of wood upon their backs, which they had stolen. He bid the troopers fetch those fellows to him; and finding that they were soldiers of the garrison, he made one of them hang all the rest; which, to save his own life, he was contented to do: so strong his appetite was to those executions he had been accustomed to in Ireland, without any kind of commission or pretence of authority.

Shortly after, upon a sally made with horse and foot from the town, colonel Digby, (who, besides the keenness of his courage, had a more composed understanding, and less liable to fumes, than those of his family[2] who had sharper parts,) charging them with such vigour as routed and drove them back, received himself in the close an unhappy wound, with a rapier, in the eye; which pierced near his brain; so that, though he was brought off by his soldiers, it was very long before he recovered enough to endure the air, and never did the effects of the wound. And upon this accident sir Richard Greenvil was placed in that command, which he executed for some months; until, upon the advance of the earl of Essex, he was compelled to retire into Cornwall, where we found him at the king's coming thither.

[1] This was apparently his motive for revolting.—W.

[2] Lord Digby.—W.

This so large excursion upon so private a person may seem very extravagant, and to carry in it too much animosity against the memory of a man who did some things well, and was not without some merit in the king's service: but they who know the occurrences of the next year, which will be faithfully related, and consider the severity that he compelled the prince to use towards him, of which he made a great noise afterwards in the world, and prevailed with some good men to believe that the proceeding against him was too rigorous, and that the council then about the prince had some personal disrespect towards him, may reasonably believe, that this enlargement was in some degree necessary, that such a man's original, nature, manners, and disposition, should be manifest and clearly understood.

The king was now most intent to return into his winter quarters at Oxford, which was all he could propose to himself; and in which he expected to meet with all the obstructions and difficulties his enraged enemies could lay in his way. He knew well that Waller was even ready to come out of London, and that Middleton was retired from Tiverton to join with him; that they had sent for the earl of Manchester to march towards the west with his victorious army: so that, if he long deferred his march, he must look to fight another battle, before he could reach Oxford. Notwithstanding all which, his army, that had been upon hard duty, and had made long marches above six months together, required some rest and refreshment: the foot were without clothes and shoes; and the horse in such ill humour, that without money they would be more discontented. To provide the best remedy that could be applied to these evils, the next day after the king marched from Plymouth, himself, attended only by his own troop, and the principal officers of the court, went to Exeter; appointing the army, by slow marches, to follow, and to be quartered at Tiverton, and the other towns adjacent; where they arrived on the 21st of September.

His majesty now quickly discerned how continual hard duty, with little fighting, had lessened and diminished his army. His own body of foot, which when he entered Corn-

wall were above four thousand, was at this time much fewer; and prince Maurice's, which consisted of full four thousand five hundred, when the king first viewed them at Kirton, was not now half the number. Of all the forces under Greenvil, which had made so much noise, and had been thought worthy of the name of an army, there were only five hundred foot and three hundred horse left with him, for the blocking of Plymouth; the rest were dwindled away; except, which was his usual artifice, he had encouraged them to stay for some time in Cornwall, and then to repair to him, as many of them did; for his forces suddenly increased; and the truth is, few of the Cornish marched eastward with the king. The king's horse were harassed, and many of them dead in the marches; which contributed to the discontent of the riders; so that great provisions were to be made before they could begin a new march. By the diligence and activity of the commissioners appointed in Devonshire for those affairs, his majesty was within few days supplied with two thousand pounds in money, which was presently distributed among the horse; and three thousand suits of clothes, with good proportions of shoes and stockings; which were likewise delivered to the foot. What remained yet wanting for the horse and foot, was promised to meet them, upon their first entrance into Somersetshire; where the commissioners of that county had undertaken they should be ready.

There was another thing of equal importance to be provided for, before the king left Exeter; which was, the blocking up the troops of Lyme; which were grown more insolent by the success they had had; and made incursions sometimes even to the walls of Exeter; and to restrain a stronger garrison in Taunton. For when prince Maurice raised his siege from Lyme,[1] he had very unhappily drawn out the garrison of Taunton, which consisted of eight hundred men, under the command of sir John Stawel, a person of that notorious courage and fidelity, that he would never have given it up; and left only fourscore men in the castle to be kept

[1] This prince Maurice was always committing faults, and under an incapacity of repairing them. This was a capital one.—W.

by a lieutenant, who basely gave it up, as soon as Essex in his passage demanded it; for which he deservedly afterwards suffered death. And it was now, by the garrison the earl put into it, and the extreme malignity and pride of the inhabitants, in both which they excelled, become a sharp thorn in the sides of all that populous county.

To remedy the first of these, some troops which depended upon the garrison of Exeter were assigned, which were to receive orders from sir John Berkley, governor thereof; who was the more vacant for that service by the reduction of Barnstable; which was done during the king's stay at Exeter. The other of Taunton was more unhappily committed to colonel Windham, the governor of Bridgewater; who, though a gentleman of known courage and unquestionable fidelity, by the divisions and factions in the country, was not equal to the work. To despatch all this, the king stayed not a full week at Exeter; but hastened his march to Chard in Somersetshire, where he stayed longer; for which he paid dear after; for he might otherwise have reached Oxford, before the enemy was in a conjunction strong enough to stop him: yet even that stay could not be prevented, except he would have left the money and clothes (which the commissioners of Somersetshire promised, and did deliver there at last) behind him; which would not have been grateful to the army, which had not had much rest.

It was the last of September, that the king marched from Chard; and quartered that night at a house of the lord Pawlet's, where prince Rupert met him, and gave him an account of the unhappy affairs of the north, and that he had left about two thousand horse under the command of sir Marmaduke Langdale; which he might as well have brought with him, and then the king would have had a glorious end of his western expedition. Prince Rupert presently returned to Bristol, with orders, as soon as was possible, to march with those northern horse under sir Marmaduke Langdale, and two thousand foot, which were in Wales, under colonel Charles Gerrard, into Gloucestershire; by which the enemy might be obliged to divide their force, which if they should still keep united, the prince from thence would be able to

join with the king: but these orders were not executed in time. The king's army at this time consisted in the whole but of five thousand five hundred foot, and about four thousand horse; and Waller was already come with his horse to Blandford; but some of his troops being beaten up by those of the king's, he retired to Shaftsbury, and those parts of Wiltshire adjacent. It concerned the king very much, before he left those parts, to relieve Portland-castle, which had been now besieged from the time of the earl of Essex's march that way. And to that purpose, he marched to Sherborne; where he stayed six days too long, though in that time he raised the siege before Portland-castle, if he had not hoped by that delay that his nephew prince Rupert would have been well advanced in his march. Sir Lewis Dives was left with his own regiment of one hundred and fifty old soldiers, and some horse in Sherborne-castle, and made commander in chief of Dorsetshire; in hope that he would be able shortly by his activity, and the very good affection of that county, to raise men enough to recover Weymouth: and he did perform all that could be reasonably expected from him. His majesty had a great desire, in his march to Oxford, to relieve Donnington-castle by Newbury and Basing; which was again besieged by almost their whole army; and then to send a good party to relieve Banbury, which had been close besieged by colonel John Fiennes, another son of the lord Say, with all the forces of Northamptonshire, Warwick, and Coventry; and bravely defended by sir William Compton, full three months; but by this time reduced to the utmost extremity.

In order to preserve all this, the king came to Salisbury upon the fifteenth of October; where he understood, "that Waller lay at Andover with his troops; that Manchester was advanced as far as Reading with five thousand horse and foot, and four and twenty pieces of ordnance; and that four regiments of the trained bands of London were beginning their march to him; and that three thousand of the horse and foot of the earl of Essex's army were near Portsmouth, expecting orders to join with the rest." This might very well have disposed his majesty to have hastened his march to Oxford,

which would have made a fair conclusion of the campaign; and this was the more reasonable, because here the king received letters from prince Rupert, in which he declared, "that it was not possible for him to bring up his troops so soon as his majesty expected;" and indeed as his present condition required: and if this had been resolved, both Donnington-castle and Banbury might have been seasonably set at liberty; but a great gaiety possessed Goring, that he earnestly advised the king to march, with secrecy and expedition, to beat Waller; who lay at Andover, a good distance from the rest, with three thousand horse and dragoons; which the king, upon the unanimous consent of the council, consented to.

He had left all the cannon that he had taken from Essex, in Exeter; and now he sent all his great cannon to a garrison he had within two miles of Salisbury at Langford, a house of the lord Gorges; where was a garrison of one hundred men, commanded by a good officer. The rest of the cannon and carriages were left at Wilton, the house of the earl of Pembroke, with a regiment of foot to guard them; and the king appointed the rendezvous for the army to be the next morning, by seven of the clock, near Clarendon-park; and good guards were set at all the avenues of the city, to keep all people from going out, that Waller might not have any notice of his purpose: and if the hour of the rendezvous had been observed, as it rarely was, (though his majesty was himself the most punctual, and never absent at the precise time,) that design had succeeded to wish. For though the foot under prince Maurice came not up till eleven of the clock, so that the army did not begin its march till twelve, yet they came within four miles of Andover, before Waller had any notice of their motions; when he drew out his whole body towards them, as if he meant to fight; but upon view of their strength, and the good order they were in, he changed his mind, and drew back into the town; leaving a strong party of horse and dragoons to make good his retreat. But the king's van charged, and routed them with good execution, and pursued them through the town, and slew many of them in the rear, until the darkness of the

night secured them, and hindered the others from following further. But they were all scattered, and came not quickly together again; and the king quartered that night at Andover. And the scattering this great body under Waller in this manner, and the little resistance they made, so raised the spirits of the king's army, that they desired nothing more than to have a battle with the whole army of the enemy; which the king meant not to seek out, nor to decline fighting with them, if they put themselves in his way. And so he resolved to raise the siege of Donnington-castle, which was little out of his way to Oxford. And to that purpose, he sent orders for the cannon which had been left at Langford and Wilton, to make all haste to a place appointed between Andover and Newbury; where he stayed with his army till they came up with him; and then marched together to Newbury, within a mile of Donnington.

Donnington-castle had been (when Middleton from thence pursued his march into the west) left to the care of colonel Horton; who for some time was contented to block it up; but then finding his summons neglected, and that they had store of provisions within, and having an addition of forces from Abingdon and Reading, he resolved to besiege it; which he begun to do the 29th of September; and made his approaches, and raised a battery on the foot of the hill next Newbury, and plied it so with his great cannon, that, after twelve days' continual shooting, he beat down three towers and a part of the wall; which he believed had so humbled the governor and the garrison, that they would be no longer so stubborn as they had been; and therefore he sent them another summons, in which he magnified his own clemency, "that prevailed with him, now they were even at his mercy, to offer them quarter for their lives, if they gave up the castle before Wednesday at ten of the clock in the morning; but if that his favour was not accepted, he declared, in the presence of God, that there should no man amongst them have his life spared." The governor made himself merry with his high and threatening language; and sent him word, "he would keep the place, and would neither give nor receive quarter." At this time, the earl of Manchester himself with

his forces came to Newbury; and receiving no better answer to his own summons, than Horton had done before, he resolved to storm it the next day. But his soldiers, being well informed of the resolution of those within, declined that hot service; and plied it with their artillery until the next night; and then removed their battery to the other side of the castle; and begun their approaches by saps; when the governor made a strong sally, and beat them out of their trenches, and killed a lieutenant colonel, who commanded in chief, with many soldiers; shot their chief cannoneer through the head, brought away their cannon-baskets, and many arms, and retired with very little loss: yet the next night they finished their battery; and continued some days their great shot, till they heard of the approach of the king's army; and thereupon they drew off their ordnance, and their trained bands of London being not yet come to them, the earl thought fit to march away to a greater distance; there having been, in nineteen days, above one thousand great shot spent upon the walls, without any other damage to the garrison, than the beating down some old parts thereof.

When the king came to Newbury, the governor of Donnington attended him, and was knighted for his very good behaviour; and there was then so little apprehension of dread of the enemy, that his majesty thought not of prosecuting his journey towards Oxford, before he should relieve both Basing and Banbury. And now importunities being sent from the last, which was even upon the point of rendering for want of victuals, they having already eaten most of their horses, his majesty was well content that the earl of Northampton, who had the supreme government of that garrison, where he had left his brave brother his lieutenant, should, with three regiments of horse, attempt the relieving it; letters being sent to Oxford, "that colonel Gage, with some horse and foot from thence, should meet him;" which they did punctually; and came time enough to Banbury before they were expected: yet they found the rebels' horse (superior in number by much to theirs) drawn up in five bodies on the south side of the town, near their sconce; as if, upon the advantage of that ground, they meant to fight.

But two or three shots, made at them by a couple of drakes brought from Oxford by colonel Gage, made them stagger, and retire from their ground very disorderly. Their cannon and baggage had been sent out of the town the night before; and their foot, being above seven hundred, run out of Banbury upon the first advance of the king's troops. Colonel Gage with the foot went directly to the castle, that they might be at liberty; whilst the earl of Northampton followed the horse so closely, that they found it best to make a stand; where he furiously charged and routed them; and, notwithstanding they had lined some hedges with musketeers, pursued them till they were scattered, and totally dispersed; their general, young Fiennes, continuing his flight, till he came to Coventry, without staying. The foot, for the most part, by dispersing themselves, escaped by the enclosures, before colonel Gage could come up. But there were taken, in the chase, one field-piece, and three wagons of arms and ammunition; many slain; and two officers of horse, with near one hundred other prisoners, four cornets of horse, and two hundred horses, were taken; and all this with the loss of one captain and nine troopers; some officers, and others, being wounded, but not mortally. Thus the siege was raised from Banbury; which had continued full thirteen weeks; so notably defended, that though they had but two horses left uneaten, they had never suffered a summons to be sent to them; and it was now relieved the very day of the month upon which both town and castle had been rendered to the king two years before; being the 26th of October.

Though the relief of Banbury succeeded to wish, yet the king paid dear for it soon after: the very day after that service was performed, colonel Urry, a Scotchman, who had formerly served the parliament, and is well mentioned, in the transactions of the last year, for having quitted them, and performed some signal service to the king, had in the west, about the time the king entered into Cornwall, (in a discontented humour, which was very natural to him,) desired a pass to go beyond the seas; and so quitted the service: but, instead of embarking himself, made haste to London; and put himself now into the earl of Manchester's army, and made

a discovery of all he knew of the king's army, and a description of the persons and customs of those who principally commanded; so that as they well knew the constitution and weakness of the king's army, so they had advertisement of the earl of Northampton's being gone, with three regiments of horse, to the relief of Banbury. Whereupon, within two days after, all those forces which had been under Essex and Waller, being united with Manchester, (with whom likewise the trained bands of London were now joined; all which made up a body of above eight thousand foot; the number of their horse being not inferior,) advanced towards the king, who had not half the number before the departure of the earl of Northampton, and stayed still at Newbury with a resolution to expect the return of that earl, that he might likewise do somewhat for Basing; not believing that the enemy could be so soon united.

It was now too late to hope to make a safe retreat to Oxford,[1] when the whole body of the enemy's army, which had received positive orders to fight the king as soon as was possible, appeared as near as Thackham; so that his majesty, not at all dismayed, resolved to stand upon the defensive only; hoping that, upon the advantage of the town of Newbury and the river, the enemy would not speedily advance; and that in the mean time, by being compelled to lodge in the field, which grew now to be very cold, whilst his army was under cover, they might be forced to retire. The king quartered in the town of Newbury; and placed strong guards on the south of the town: but the greatest part of the army was placed towards the enemy's quarters, in a good house belonging to Mr. Doleman at Shaw, and in a village near it, defended by the river that runs under Donnington-castle, and in a house between that village and Newbury, about which a work was cast up, and at a mill upon the river of Kennet; all which lay almost east from the town. Directly north from thence were two open fields, where most of the

[1] This is taken (as is most of the campaign) from Walker's history of the year. Of all lord Clarendon's descriptions of battles, the most intelligible is that of the battle of Edge-hill.---W.

horse stood with the train of artillery, and about half a mile west was the village of Speen; and beyond it a small heath. In this village lay all prince Maurice's foot, and some horse, and at the entrance of the heath a work was cast up, which cleared the heath. And in this posture they had many skirmishes with the enemy for two days, without losing any ground; and the enemy was still beaten off with loss.

On Sunday morning, the seven and twentieth of October, by the break of day, one thousand of the earl of Manchester's army, with the trained bands of London, came down the hill; and passed the river that was by Shaw; and, undiscovered, forced that guard which should have kept the pass that was near the house; that was intrenched where sir Bernard Astley lay; who instantly, with a good body of musketeers, fell upon the enemy; and not only routed them, but compelled them to rout two other bodies of their own men, who were coming to second them. In this pursuit very many of the enemy were slain, and many drowned in the river, and above two hundred arms taken. There continued, all that day, very warm skirmishes in several parts; the enemy's army having almost encompassed the king's; and with much more loss to them, than to the king; till, about three of the clock in the afternoon, Waller with his own, and the forces which had been under Essex, fell upon the quarter at Speen, and passed the river; which was not well defended by the officer who was appointed to guard it with horse and foot,[1] very many of them being gone off from their guards, as never imagining that they would, at that time of day, have attempted a quarter that was thought the strongest of all. But having thus got the river, they marched in good order, with very great bodies of foot, winged with horse, towards the heath; from whence the horse which were left there, with too little resistance, retired; being in truth much overpowered, by reason the major part of them, upon confidence of security of the pass, were gone to provide forage for their horse.

By this means the enemy possessed themselves of the ordnance which had been planted there, and of the village of

[1] This is another of prince Maurice's exploits.—W.

Speen; the foot which were there retired to the hedge next the large field between Speen and Newbury; which they made good: at the same time, the right wing of the enemy's horse advanced under the hill of Speen, with one hundred musketeers in the van, and came into the open field, where a good body of the king's horse stood, which at first received them in some disorder; but the queen's regiment of horse, commanded by sir John Cansfield, charged them with so much gallantry, that he routed that great body; which then fled; and he had the execution of them near half a mile; wherein most of the musketeers were slain, and very many of the horse; insomuch that that whole wing rallied not again that night. The king was at that time with the prince, and many of the lords, and other his servants, in the middle of that field; and could not, by his own presence, restrain those horse, which at the first approach of the enemy were in that disorder, from shamefully giving ground. So that if sir John Cansfield had not, in that article of time, given them that brisk charge, by which other troops were ready to charge them in the flank, the king himself had been in very great danger.

At the same time, the left wing of the enemy's horse advanced towards the north side of the great field; but, before they got thither, Goring, with the earl of Cleveland's brigade, charged them so vigorously, that he forced them back in great confusion over a hedge; and following them over that hedge, was charged by another fresh body, which he defeated likewise, and slew very many of the enemy upon the place; and having not only routed and beaten them off their ground, but endured the shot of three bodies of their foot in their pursuit, and in their retreat, with no considerable damage, save that the earl of Cleveland's horse falling under him, he was taken prisoner;[1] which was an extraordinary loss. Whilst this was doing on that side, twelve hundred horse, and three thousand foot, of those under the earl of Manchester, advanced with great resolution upon Shaw-house, and the field adjacent; which quarter was defended by sir Jacob

[1] By this the *retreat* seems to have been a little precipitate.—W.

Astley and Colonel George Lisle; and the house, by lieutenant colonel Page. They came singing of psalms;[1] and, at first, drove forty musketeers from a hedge, who were placed there to stop them; but they were presently charged by sir John Brown, with the prince's regiment of horse; who did good execution upon them, till he saw another body of their horse ready to charge him, which made him retire to the foot in Mr. Doleman's garden, which flanked that field, and gave fire upon those horse, whereof very many fell; and the horse thereupon wheeling about, sir John Brown fell upon their rear, and killed many, and kept that ground all the day; when the reserve of foot, commanded by colonel Thelwell, galled their foot with several vollies, and then fell on them with the but-ends of their muskets, till they had not only beaten them from the hedges, but quite out of the field; leaving two drakes, some colours, and many dead bodies behind them. At this time, a great body of their foot attempted Mr. Doleman's house, but were so well entertained by lieutenant colonel Page, that, after they had made their first effort, they were forced to retire in such confusion, that he pursued them from the house with a notable execution, insomuch that they left five hundred dead upon a little spot of ground; and they drew off the two drakes out of the field to the house, the enemy being beaten off, and retired from all that quarter.

It was now night; for which neither party was sorry; and the king, who had been on that side where the enemy only had prevailed, thought that his army had suffered likewise in all other places.[2] He saw they were entirely possessed of Speen, and had taken all the ordnance which had been left there; whereby it would be easy for them, before the next morning, to have compassed him round; towards which

[1] These appear to be of the number of Cromwell's new-trained fanatics, who served under Manchester.—W.

[2] The king had Newbury in possession. The action was on the outside the town, on the east, the north, and the west sides. What hindered the king from informing himself of what passed on the east side? and the night afforded him time to inquire. Instead of this, he ran away from his army fifty miles without stopping.—W.

they might have gone far, if they had found themselves in a condition to have pursued their fortune.[1]

Hereupon, as soon as it was night, his majesty, with the prince, and those lords who had been about him all the day, and his regiment of guards, retired into the fields under Donnington-castle, and resolved to prosecute the resolution that was taken in the morning, when they saw the huge advantage the enemy had in numbers, with which he was like to be encompassed, if his forces were beaten from either of the posts. That resolution was, "to march away in the night towards Wallingford;" and to that purpose, all the carriages and great ordnance had been that morning drawn under Donnington-castle; so he sent orders to all the officers to draw off their men to the same place; and receiving intelligence at that time that prince Rupert was come, or would be that night at Bath, that he might make no stay there, but presently be able to join with his army, his majesty himself, with the prince, and about three hundred horse,[2] made haste thither, and found prince Rupert there, and thence made what haste they could back towards Oxford. The truth is, the king's army was not in so ill a condition, as the king conceived it to have been: that party which were in the field near Speen, kept their ground very resolutely; and although it was a fair moonshine night, the enemy, that was very near them, and much superior in number, thought not fit to assault or disturb them. That part of the enemy that had been so roughly treated at Shaw, having received succour of a strong body of horse, resolved once more to make an attempt upon the foot there; but they were beaten off as before; though they stood not well enough to receive an

[1] No doubt, if they had found.—W.

[2] He softens what he can this shameful desertion of the king's, when his army stood most in need of his presence. Walker tells it more openly. But he softens it even to an excess of ridicule. The king and prince went thither to tell Rupert they wanted him to come as fast as he could to the army. The truth was, the king wanted to get as far as he could from the enemy. This was the most ignominious of all the king's feats in arms, in which he dishonoured his army, who behaved bravely, as well as himself.—W.

equal loss, but retired to their hill, where they stood still. And this was the last action between the armies; for about ten of the clock at night, all the army, horse, foot, and cannon, upon the king's orders, drew forth their several guards to the heath about Donnington-castle; in which they left most of their wounded men, with all their ordnance, ammunition, and carriages; and then prince Maurice, and the other officers, marched in good order away to Wallingford, committing the bringing up the rear to sir Humphry Bennet, (who had behaved himself very signally that day,) who, with his brigade of horse, marched behind, and received not the least disturbance from the enemy; who, in so light a night, could not but know of the retreat, and were well enough pleased to be rid of an enemy that had handled them so ill. By the morning, all the army, foot as well as horse, arrived at Wallingford; where having refreshed a little, they marched to Oxford, without seeing any party of the enemy that looked after them.

Many made a question which party had the better of the day; and either was well enough satisfied with their success. There could be no question there were very many more killed of the enemy, than of the king's army; whereof were missing only sir William St. Leger, lieutenant colonel to the duke's regiment of foot; lieutenant colonel Topping, and lieutenant colonel Leake, both officers of horse, who were all there slain, with not above one hundred common soldiers, in all places. The earl of Brentford, general of the army, was wounded on the head; sir John Cansfield, sir John Greenvil, and lieutenant colonel Page, were wounded; but all recovered. The officers of the enemy's side were never talked of, being, for the most part, of no better families than the common soldiers. But it was reasonably computed, by those who saw the action in all places, that there could not be so few as one thousand dead upon the place: but because the king's army quitted the field, and marched away in the night, the other side thought themselves masters; and the parliament celebrated their victory with their usual triumphs; though, within few days after, they discerned that they had little reason for it. They came to know, by what accident

is not imagined, that the earl of Brentford remained that night in the castle, by reason of the hurt in his head, and so sent colonel Urry to him to persuade him to give up the castle, and to make him other large offers; all which the general rejected with the indignation that became him. No more shall be said of the colonel, because, after all his tergiversations, he chose at last to lose his life for and in the king's service; which ought to expiate for all his transgressions, and preserve his memory from all unkind reflections.[1]

The next day, when they knew that the king's army was retired, and not till then, they made haste to possess themselves of Newbury; and then drew up their whole army before Donnington-castle, and summoned the governor "to deliver it to them, or else they would not leave one stone upon another." To which the governor made no other reply, than "that he was not bound to repair it; but however he would, by God's help, keep the ground." Afterwards seeing his obstinacy, they offered him "to march away with their arms, and all things belonging to the garrison;" and, when that moved not, that he "should carry all the cannon and ammunition with him:" to all which he answered, "that he wondered they would not be satisfied with so many answers that he had sent," and desired them "to be assured, that he would not go out of the castle, till the king sent him order so to do." Offended with these high answers, they resolved to assault it; but the officer who commanded the party being killed, with some few of the soldiers, they retired, and never after made any attempt upon it, but remained quietly at Newbury in great faction among themselves; every man taking upon himself to find fault, and censure what had been done, and had been left undone, in the whole day's service.

The king met prince Rupert, as he expected, with colonel

[1] I do not see the justness of this reflection. A rascal swayed by no laws of honour, and perpetually changing sides, as his pride, his extravagance, and avarice directed; and because he chances to fall while in the king's service, where he then chanced to be, on no better motives than those above mentioned, his memory is to be sacred. But it was not the cause, but the motives of espousing it made the man's *memory* stink or keep sweet.—W.

Gerrard, and sir Marmaduke Langdale; and made all the haste he could to join those forces with his own army, that so he might march back to Newbury, and disengage his cannon and carriages.' By the way he met the earl of Northampton, and those regiments which had relieved Banbury; and having with marvellous expedition caused a new train of artillery to be formed, he brought his army again to a rendezvous on Bullington Green; where, with the addition of those forces, and some foot, which he drew out of Oxford, under the command of colonel Gage, it appeared to be full six thousand foot, and five thousand horse; with which he marched to Wallingford; and within a day more than a week after he had left Donnington-castle, found himself there again in so good a posture, that he resolved not to decline fighting with the enemy; but would be first possessed of his cannon, and put some provision into the castle; which he accomplished without any opposition.

The enemy's army lay still at Newbury, perplexed with the divisions and factions among their own officers, without any notice of the king's advance, till a quarter of their horse was beaten up. The next morning the king put his army into battalia; prince Rupert, who was now declared general, led the van, and got possession of the heath, on the back side of the castle; from which a small party might have kept him, the entrance into it being very steep, and the way narrow. On that heath the army was drawn up about noon, every one being prepared to fight; and none of the enemy appearing, they marched by the castle over the river by a mill, and two fords below it, without any opposition, and thence drew into the large field between Speen and Newbury, which was thought a good place to expect the enemy; who, in the mean time, had drawn a great body of their horse and foot into the other field toward Shaw, and had made breastworks and batteries on the back side of Newbury; which town they resolved to keep, and stand upon the defensive, as the king had done before; presuming, that they

[1] He plainly had no such thoughts when he ran away from his army. —W.

now having the warmer lodging, might better attack the king after his men had lain a night or two in the fields; it being now the month of November, but fair for that season. Some light skirmishes passed between the horse; but when the king saw upon what disadvantages he must force them to fight, he called his council together, who were unanimous in opinion, "that since he had relieved the castle, and put sufficient provisions into it, and that it was in his power to draw off his ordnance and ammunition from thence, he had done his business; and if any honour had been lost the other day,[1] it was regained now, by his having passed his army over the river in the face of theirs, and offered them battle, which they durst not accept." Upon which the king resolved to attempt them no further, but gave orders to retire in their view, with drums beating and trumpets sounding, the same way he came over the river. So the king lay that night at Donnington-castle, and all the army about him.

The king had not yet done all he meant to do, before he took up his winter quarters, and was willing that the enemy should have an opportunity to fight with him, if they desired it: and therefore, on the Sunday morning the tenth of November, his majesty marched with all his cannon and ammunition over the heath from Donnington, over a fair campaign, to Lamborne; in which march, some of the enemy's horse attempted his rear, but were repulsed with loss; many being slain, and some taken prisoners. There the king quartered that night and the next day, to refresh his men for the ill lodging they had endured at Donnington; having sent some persons of great reputation and interest to Marlborough, to make large provisions for him and his army. And then, since he heard the enemy lay still at Newbury, he marched to Marlborough; where he found all things to his wish. His heart was set upon the relief of Basing, which was now again distressed; the enemy having, as is said before, begirt it closely, from the time that Gage had relieved it. And

[1] There was no honour lost the other day, but the king's personal honour, and that was lost to so great a degree as hardly to be recovered.---W.

he had a great mind to do it with his whole army, that thereby he might draw the enemy to a battle: but, upon full debate, it was concluded, "that the safest way would be to do it by a strong party; that one thousand horse should be drawn out, every one of which should carry before him a bag of corn, or other provisions, and march so as to be at Basing-house the next morning after they parted from the army; and then every trooper was to cast down his bag, and to make their retreat as well as they might:" and colonel Gage, who had so good success before, was appointed to command this party; which he cheerfully undertook to do. And the better to effect it, Hungerford was thought the fitter place to quarter with the army, and from thence to despatch that party: so his majesty marched back to Hungerford, which was half way to Newbury: the enemy was in mean time marched from thence to Basing, which they thought would, upon the sight of their whole army, presently have yielded; but finding the marquis still obstinate to defend it, they were weary of the winter war, and so retired all their force from thence, and quitted the siege the very day before Gage came thither; so that he easily delivered his provisions, and retired to the king without any inconvenience. His majesty then marched to Farringdon, with some hope to have surprised Abingdon in his way; but he found it too well provided; and so after he had considered where to quarter his horse, which had hitherto had their head quarter at Abingdon, and those places which were now under the power of that governor, he returned to Oxford; where he arrived, to the universal joy, on the three and twentieth of November; a season of the year fit for all the troops to be in their winter quarters.

The king was exceedingly pleased to find how much the fortifications there had been advanced by the care and diligence of the lords; and was very gracious in his acknowledgment of it to them. And the governor, sir Arthur Aston, having, some months before, in the managing his horse in the fields, caused him to fall, had in the fall broken his leg, and, shortly after, been compelled to cut it off; so that, if he recovered at all, which was very doubtful, he could not

be fit for any active service; his majesty resolved to confer that government upon another. Of which resolution, with all the circumstances of grace and favour, and sending him a warrant for one thousand pounds a year pension for his life, he gave him notice; and then, to the most general satisfaction of all men, he conferred that government upon colonel Gage, whom he had before knighted. Sir Arthur Aston was so much displeased with his successor, that he besought the king to confer that charge upon any other person; and when he found that his majesty would not change his purpose, he sent to some lords to come to him, who he thought were most zealous in religion, and desired them to tell the king from him, "that, though he was himself a Roman catholic, he had been very careful to give no scandal to his majesty's protestant subjects; and could not but inform him, that Gage was the most Jesuited papist alive; that he had a Jesuit who lived with him; and that he was present at all the sermons among the catholics; which he believed would be very much to his majesty's disservice." So much his passion and animosity overruled his conscience.

The king liked the choice he had made; and only advised the new governor, by one of his friends, "to have so much discretion in his carriage, that there might be no notice taken of the exercise of his religion:" to which animadversion he answered, "that he never had dissembled his religion, nor ever would; but that he had been so wary in the exercise of it, that he knew there could be no witness produced, who had ever seen him at mass in Oxford, though he heard mass every day; and that he had never been but once at a sermon, which was at the lodging of sir Arthur's daughter, to which he had been invited with great importunity, and believed now that it was to entrap him." But the poor gentleman enjoyed the office very little time; for within a month, or thereabout, making an attempt to break down Culham-bridge near Abingdon, where he intended to erect a royal fort, that should have kept that garrison from that side of the country, he was shot through the heart with a musket bullet. Prince Rupert was present at the action, having approved, and been much pleased with the design, which was

never pursued after his death; and in truth the king sustained a wonderful loss in his death; he being a man of great wisdom and temper, and among the very few soldiers, who made himself to be universally loved and esteemed.

Though the king's condition was now much better, than, in the beginning of the summer, he had reason to expect, (he had broken and defeated two armies of the parliament, and returned into his winter quarter with advantage, and rather with an increase than diminution of his forces,) yet his necessities were still the same, and the fountains dried up from whence he might expect relief; his quarters shortened and lessened by the loss of the whole north: for after the battle of York, the Scots returned to reduce Newcastle, which they had already done, and all other garrisons which had held out for the king; and when that work should be thoroughly and sufficiently done, it must be expected that army should again move southward, and take such other places, as the parliament should not be at leisure to look after themselves.

The king's army was less united than ever; the old general was set aside, and prince Rupert put into the command, which was no popular change:[1] for the other was known to be an officer of great experience, and had committed no oversights in his conduct; was willing to hear every thing debated, and always concurred with the most reasonable opinion; and though he was not of many words, and was not quick in hearing, yet upon any action he was sprightly, and commanded well. The prince was rough, and passionate, and loved not debate; liked what was proposed, as he liked the persons who proposed it; and was so great an enemy to Digby and Colepepper, who were only present in debates of the war with the officers, that he crossed all they proposed. The truth is, all the army had been disposed, from the first raising it, to a neglect and contempt of the council; and the king

[1] It was unhappy that the king, who had brought himself into these distresses in time of peace, by governing unpopular, and was not to retrieve a desperate game by arms, should act *unpopularly*, i. e. unjustly and foolishly.---W.

himself had not been solicitous enough to preserve the respect due to it; in which he lost of his own dignity.[1]

Goring, who was now general of the horse, was no more gracious to prince Rupert, than Wilmot had been; and had all the other's faults, and wanted his regularity, and preserving his respect with the officers. Wilmot loved debauchery, but shut it out from his business; never neglected that, and rarely miscarried in it. Goring had a much better understanding, and a sharper wit, (except in the very exercise of debauchery, and then the other was inspired,) a much keener courage, and presentness of mind in danger: Wilmot discerned it further off, and because he could not behave himself so well in it, commonly prevented, or warily declined it; and never drank when he was within distance of an enemy: Goring was not able to resist the temptation, when he was in the middle of them, nor would decline it to obtain a victory; and, in one of those fits, he had suffered the horse to escape out of Cornwall; and the most signal misfortunes of his life in war had their rise from that uncontrollable licence. Neither of them valued their promises,[2] professions, or friendships, according to any rules of honour or integrity; but Wilmot violated them the less willingly, and never but for some great benefit or convenience to himself; Goring without scruple, out of humour, or for wit's sake; and loved no man so well, but that he would cozen him, and then expose him to public mirth for having been cozened: therefore he had always fewer friends than the other, but more company; for no man had a wit that pleased the company better. The ambitions of both were unlimited, and so equally incapable of being contented; and both unrestrained, by any respect to good-nature, or justice, from pursuing the satisfaction thereof: yet Wilmot had more scruples from religion to startle him, and would not have attained his end by any gross or foul act of wickedness: Goring could have passed through those pleasantly, and would, without hesitation, have broken any trust, or done any act of treachery, to have sat-

[1] For the sake of Rupert and Maurice.—W.

[2] These two similar characters incomparably contrasted.—W.

isfied an ordinary passion or appetite; and, in truth, wanted nothing but industry (for he had wit, and courage, and understanding, and ambition, uncontrolled by any fear of God or man) to have been as eminent and successful in the highest attempt in wickedness, of any man in the age he lived in, or before. Of all his qualifications, dissimulation was his masterpiece;[1] in which he so much excelled, that men were not ordinarily ashamed, or out of countenance, with being deceived but twice by him.

The court was not much better disposed than the army; they who had no preferment were angry with those who had, and thought they had not deserved so well as themselves: they who were envied, found no satisfaction or delight in what they were envied for, being poor and necessitous, and the more sensible of their being so, by the titles they had received upon their violent importunity. So that the king was without any joy in the favours he had conferred, and yet was not the less solicited to grant more to others of the same kind, who, he foresaw, would be no better pleased than the rest: and the pleasing one man this way, displeased one hundred; as his creating the lord Colepepper at this time, and making him a baron, (who, in truth, had served him with great abilities; and, though he did imprudently in desiring it, did deserve it,) did much dissatisfy both the court and the army; to neither of which was he in any degree gracious, by his having no ornament of education, to make men the more propitious to his parts of nature; and disposed many others to be very importunate to receive the same obligation.

There had been another counsel entered upon, and concluded with great deliberation and wisdom, which turned at this time to his majesty's disadvantage; which was the cessation in Ireland; entered into, as hath been said before, with all the reason imaginable, and in hope to have made a good peace there, and so to have had the power of that united kingdom, to have assisted to the suppressing the rebellion in this. But now, as all the supplies he had received from

[1] He at last turned monk.—W.

thence upon the cessation had been already destroyed, without any benefit to the king, so his majesty found, that he should not be able to make a peace there; and then the government there would be in a worse condition, by being deprived of so many good officers and soldiers upon the conclusion of the cessation. There had been commissioners from that time sent over to the king from the confederate catholics, to treat a peace; the lord lieutenant and council had sent likewise commissioners to inform the king of all things necessary to be considered in the treaty; and the parliament which was then sitting in Ireland had sent likewise commissioners, in the name of the protestants in that kingdom, to prevent the making any peace; and with a petition to dissolve the cessation that had been made.

The commissioners from the confederate catholics demanded "the abrogation and repeal of all those laws, which were in force against the exercise of the Roman religion: that the lieutenant, or chief governor, should be a Roman catholic; and that there should be no distinction made, whereby those of that religion should not be capable of any preferment in the kingdom, as well as the protestants;" together with the repeal of several laws, which that nation thought to have been made in their prejudice.

The commissioners from the state (whereof some were of the privy-council) professed, "that they desired a peace might be made;" but proposed, in order, as they said, to the security of the kingdom, "that all the Irish might be disarmed; and such among them as had been most signal and barbarous in the massacres in the beginning of the rebellion, might be excepted from pardon, and prosecuted with the utmost rigour of law: that the laws might be put in execution against all Roman catholics, and especially against all Jesuits, priests, and friars; and that they might be obliged to pay all the damages which had been sustained by the war."

The commissioners from the protestants demanded, "that the cessation might be dissolved, and the war carried on with the utmost rigour, according to the act of parliament that had been made in the beginning of the rebellion, and that no peace might be made on any conditions."

The king demanded of the Irish, "whether they believed it could be in his power, if it were agreeable to his conscience, to grant them their demands? and whether he must not thereby purchase Ireland with the loss of England and Scotland?" There were among them some sober men, who confessed, "that, as his majesty's affairs then stood, they believed he could not grant it; and they hoped, that their general assembly would, when they should be informed of the truth of his majesty's condition, which was not known to them, be persuaded to depart from some of their demands; but that, for the present, they had not authority to recede from any one proposition."

The king then asked the commissioners who had been sent over by the marquis of Ormond, lieutenant of the kingdom, "which forces they thought to be the stronger, the king's army, or that of the rebels?" They confessed "the rebels to be much superior in power, and that they were possessed of more than three parts of the kingdom." The king then asked them, "whether they thought it probable, now they found themselves to be the stronger, that they would be persuaded to yield to so disadvantageous terms, as they proposed, and to be so wholly at the mercy of those whom they had so much provoked? and if they could be so disposed, whether they believed that they were able, though they should be willing, to sell all they have in Ireland, to pay the damages which had been sustained by the war?" The commissioners acknowledged, "that they thought the last impossible, and that there might be a mitigation in that particular; but for the former, they durst not advise his majesty to recede at all; for that there could be no other security for the protestants in that kingdom, but by leaving the Irish without any capacity or ability to trouble them: for their perfidiousness was such, that they could not be trusted; and therefore they must either be put into such a condition, by being totally disarmed, that they should not be able to do any mischief; or that all the protestants must leave the kingdom to the entire possession of the Irish; and whether that would be for his majesty's service and security, they must refer to his own wisdom."

The king then sent for the commissioners from the parliament, on the behalf of the protestants, and asked them, "whether they were ready, if the cessation were expired, to renew the war, and to prosecute it hopefully, to the reduction or suppression of the Irish?" They answered very clearly, "that, in the state they were in, they could not carry on the war, or defend themselves against the Irish, who were much superior to them in power; but if his majesty would recruit his army, and send over money, and arms, and ammunition, with shipping, they made no doubt, but, with God's blessing, they should be able shortly to reduce them, and drive them out of the kingdom." The king then asked them, "whether they did in truth think, that his majesty was able to send them such supplies as they stood in need of? or whether they did not, in their consciences, know, that he was not able to send them any part of it, and stood in want of all for his own support?" They answered, "that they hoped he would make a peace with the parliament, and would then be able to send over such assistance to Ireland, as would quickly settle that kingdom."

But, after all these discourses, his majesty prevailed not with any of them to depart from the most unreasonable of all their demands; whereupon he dismissed them, and told the Irish, "it had been in their power so far to have obliged him, that he might hereafter have thought himself bound to have gratified them in some particulars, which were not now seasonable to have been done; but they would repent this their senseless perverseness, when it would be too late, and when they found themselves under a power that would destroy them, and make them cease to be a nation."

And so they all left Oxford; and his majesty, notwithstanding all this resolution not to depart from any thing that might in any degree be prejudicial to the protestant interest in that kingdom, found that he suffered under no reproach more in England, than by having made that cessation: so wonderfully unreasonable was the nation then, under the absurd imputation of his majesty's favouring the Irish.[1]

[1] It might be, and I think it was false. But why absurd? He was absolutely governed by his wife, who was a bigoted papist.—W.

The straits in which the king now was, brought him to some reflections which he had never made before; and the considerations of what might probably be the event of the next summer, disposed him to inclinations which were very contrary to what he had ever before entertained. His three younger children were taken from the governess in whose hands he had put them, and were not only in the parliament quarters, but expressly by their order put into the custody of one in whom the king could have the less confidence, because it was one in whom the parliament confided so much. He had with him the prince and the duke of York, both young; and he had no resolution more fixed in him, than that the prince should never be absent from him; which, as hath been touched before, made him less consider what governor or servants he put about him; resolving to form his manners by his own model. But now he began to say, "that himself and the prince were too much to venture in one bottom; and that it was now time to unboy him, by putting him into some action and acquaintance with business, out of his own sight:" but communicated these thoughts only with the lord Digby, the lord Colepepper, and the chancellor of the exchequer; and was thought to confer more with the lord Colepepper upon the subject, than with either of the other; but had some particular thoughts upon which he conferred with nobody. There was but one province in which the prince could reside, after he was severed from the king; and that was the west; which was yet in a worse condition than it had been, by the rebels being possessed of Taunton, the chief town in Somersetshire; and though it was an open and unfortified place, it was very strong against the king in the natural disaffection of the inhabitants, which were very numerous, and all the places adjacent of the same ill principles; and Waller had already sent some troops thither to confirm them in their rebellious inclinations, and had himself a resolution speedily to go thither, with a body sufficient to form an army for the reduction of the west: nor was the design improbable to succeed; for the reputation of the Scotch army, upon the recovery of all the north, had shaken and terrified all the kingdom; and the king's army was the

last enemy the west had been acquainted with, and had left no good name behind it.

To prevent this mischief,[1] Goring (who had now made a fast friendship with the lord Digby, either of them believing he could deceive the other, and so with equal passion embracing the engagement) was sent with some troops to Salisbury, from whence he might easily prevent any motion of Waller; without which, Taunton would be in a short time reduced by the garrisons the king had in the country; so that this alteration rather confirmed than diverted his majesty, in his thoughts of sending the prince thither: so that he began to publish his purpose, and named counsellors to be with his highness, by whose advice all things should be done; his majesty's purpose being, in truth, only at that time that the prince should go no further west than Bristol; and that there might no jealousies arise from this action, (which every body knew was so far from the king's former purpose; and it might be imagined, that his highness would be sent to the queen his mother into France, which many unreasonably apprehended,) the king declared what council he intended should be about his son; the reputation of whom, he thought, would allay all jealousies of that kind. He named the duke of Richmond, the earl of Southampton, the lord Capel, the lord Hopton, the lord Colepepper, and the chancellor of the exchequer, and appointed them "to meet frequently at the prince's lodging, to consider with his highness what preparations should be made for his journey, and in what manner his family should be established." There was one person more, who of necessity was to wait on the person of the prince, which was the earl of Berkshire, his governor; and then his majesty found, what false measures he had taken in the conferring that province, and lamented his own error to those he trusted, but knew not how to prevent the inconveniences that might ensue, unless by applying two remedies, which were not natural, and might have been productive of as great inconveniences. The one was, to lessen the prince's reverence and esteem for his governor; which was very sufficiently provided for. The other, to leave the governor without any more authority, than every one of the

[1] Admirable!—W.

council had; and so much less, as the prince had a better esteem of every one of them, than he had of him: and so left him without a governor, which would have been a little better, if he had been without the earl of Berkshire too.

When the king was in this melancholic posture, it was a great refreshment, and some advantage to him, to hear, that the disorder the parliament was in was superior to his. The cause of all the distractions in his court or army proceeded from the extreme poverty and necessity his majesty was in; and a very moderate supply of money would, in a moment, have extinguished all those distempers. But all the wealth of the kingdom, for they were possessed of all, could not prevent the same, and greater distractions and emulations, from breaking into the whole government of the parliament: and all the personal animosities imaginable broke out in their councils, and in their armies; and the house of peers found themselves, upon the matter, excluded from all power or credit, when they did not concur in all the demands which were made by the commons.

That violent party, which had at first cozened the rest into the war, and afterwards obstructed all the approaches towards peace, found now that they had finished as much of their work, as the tools which they had wrought with could be applied to; and what remained to be done, must be despatched by new workmen. They had been long unsatisfied with the earl of Essex, and he as much with them; both being more solicitous to suppress the other, than to destroy the king. They bore the loss and dishonour he had sustained in Cornwall very well; and would have been glad, that both he and his army had been quite cut off, instead of being dissolved; for most of his officers and soldiers were corrupted in their affections towards them, and desired nothing but peace: so that they resolved never more to trust or employ any of them. But that which troubled them more, was, that their beloved earl of Manchester, upon whom they depended as a fast friend, by whom they might insensibly have divested the earl of Essex of all inconvenient authority in the army, appeared now as unapplicable to their purposes as the other; and there was a breach fallen out between him

and Oliver Cromwell, which was irreconcileable, and which had brought some counsels upon the stage, before they were ripe.

Cromwell accused the earl of Manchester "of having betrayed the parliament out of cowardice; for that he might, at the king's last being at Newbury, when he drew off his cannon, very easily have defeated his whole army, if he would have permitted it to have been engaged: that he went to him, and shewed him evidently how it might be done; and desired him that he would give him leave, with his own brigade of horse, to charge the king's army in their retreat; and the earl, with the rest of his army, might look on, and do as he should think fit: but that the earl had, notwithstanding all importunity used by him and other officers, positively and obstinately refused to permit him; giving no other reason, but that, he said, if they did engage, and overthrow the king's army, the king would always have another army to keep up the war; but if that army which he commanded should be overthrown, before the other under the earl of Essex should be reinforced, there would be an end of their pretences; and they should be all rebels and traitors, and executed and forfeited by the law."

This pronunciation what the law would do against them was very heavily taken by the parliament, as if the earl believed the law to be against them, after so many declarations made by them, "that the law was on their side, and that the king's arms were taken up against the law." The earl confessed "he had used words to that effect, that they should be treated as traitors, if their army was defeated, when he did not approve the advice that was given by the lieutenant general; which would have exposed the army to greater hazard, than he thought seasonable in that conjuncture, in the middle of the winter, to expose it to." He then recriminated Cromwell, "that, at another time, Cromwell discoursing freely with him of the state of the kingdom, and proposing somewhat to be done," the earl had answered, "that the parliament would never approve it:" to which Cromwell presently replied, "My lord, if you will stick firm to honest men, you shall find yourself in the head of an army, that

shall give the law to king and parliament: which discourse, he said, made great impression in him; for he knew the lieutenant general to be a man of very deep designs; and therefore he was the more careful to preserve an army, which he yet thought was very faithful to the parliament."

This discourse startled those who had always an aversion to Cromwell, and had observed the fierceness of his nature, and the language he commonly used when there was any mention of peace; so that they desired that this matter might be thoroughly examined, and brought to judgment. But the other side put all obstructions in the way, and rather chose to lose the advantage they had against the earl of Manchester, than to have the other matter examined; which would unavoidably have made some discoveries which they were not yet ready to produce. However the animosities increased, and the parties appeared barefaced against each other; which increased the distractions, and divided the city as well as the parliament; and new opinions started up in religion, which made more subdivisions; and new terms and distinctions were brought into discourse; and fanatics were now first brought into appellation: which kind of confusions exceedingly disposed men of any sober understanding to wish for peace; though none knew how to bring the mention of it into the parliament.

The Scottish commissioners were as jealous and as unsatisfied as any other party; and found, since the battle of York, neither their army nor themselves so much considered as before, nor any conditions performed towards them with any punctuality. They had long had jealousy of Cromwell and sir Henry Vane, and all that party; which they saw increased every day, and grew powerful in the parliament, in the council, and in the city. Their sacred vow and covenant was mentioned with less reverence and respect, and the independents, which comprehended many sects in religion, spake publicly against it; of which party Cromwell and Vane were the leaders, with very many clergymen, who were the most popular preachers,[1] and who in the assembly

[1] The spirit of liberty now awakened, made the people as much hate

of divines had great authority: so that the Scots plainly perceived, that though they had gone as far towards the destruction of the church of England as they desired, they should never be able to establish their presbyterian government; without which they should lose all their credit in their own country, and all their interest in England. They discerned likewise, that there was a purpose, if that party prevailed, to change the whole frame of the government, as well civil as ecclesiastical, and to reduce the monarchy to a republic; which was as far from the end and purpose of that nation, as to restore episcopacy. So that they saw no way to prevent the mischief and confusion that would fall out, but by a peace; which they began heartily to wish, and to conspire with those of that party which most desired to bring it to pass; but how to set a treaty on foot, they knew not.

The house of peers, three or four men excepted, wished it, but had no power to compass it. In the house of commons, there were enough who would have been very glad of it, but had not the courage to propose it. They who had an inward aversion from it, and were resolved to prevent it by all possible means, wrought upon many of the other to believe, "that they would accept of a proposition for a treaty, if the king desired it; but that it would be dishonourable, and of very pernicious consequence to the nation, if the parliament first proposed it." So that it seemed evident, that if any of the party which did in truth desire peace, should propose it to the parliament, it would be rejected; and rejected upon the point of honour, by many of those who in their hearts prayed for it.

They tried their old friends of the city, who had served their turns so often, and set some of them to get hands to a petition, by which the parliament should be moved "to send to the king to treat of peace." But that design was no sooner known, but others of an opposite party were appointed to set a counter petition on foot, by which they should "disclaim

the severity of the presbyterian discipline, (though their ministers first awakened it,) as they had hated the episcopal. And these independent preachers declaimed now as violently against the presbyterian tyranny, as the presbyterians had against the episcopal.—W.

any consent or approbation of, the other petition; not that they did not desire peace as much as their neighbours," (nobody was yet arrived at the impudence to profess against peace,) "but that they would not presume to move the parliament in it, because they knew, their wisdom knew best the way to obtain it, and would do what was necessary and fit towards it; to which they wholly left it."

And this petition found more countenance among the magistrates, the mayor, and aldermen; sir Henry Vane having diligently provided, that men of his own principles and inclinations should be brought into the government of the city; of which he saw they should always have great need, even in order to keep the parliament well disposed. So that they who did in truth desire any reasonable peace, found the way to it so difficult, and that it was impossible to prevail with the two houses to propose it to the king, that they resolved, "it could only rise from his majesty; and to that purpose they should all labour with their several friends at Oxford, to incline the king to send a message to the parliament, to offer a treaty of peace in any place where they should appoint; and then they would all run the utmost hazard before it should be rejected."

The independent party, (for under that style and appellation they now acted, and owned themselves,) which feared and abhorred all motions towards peace, were in as great straits as the other, how to carry on their designs. They were resolved to have no more to do with either of their generals, but how to lay them aside was the difficulty; especially the earl of Essex, who had been so entirely their founder, that they owed not more to the power and reputation of parliament, than to his sole name and credit: the being able to raise an army, and conducting it to fight against the king, was purely due to him, and the effect of his power. And now to put such an affront upon him, and to think of another general, must appear the highest ingratitude, and might provoke the army itself, where he was still exceedingly beloved; and to continue him in that trust, was to betray their own designs, and to render them impracticable. Therefore, till they could find some expedient to expli-

cate and disentangle themselves out of this labyrinth, they made no advance towards the recruiting or supplying their armies, nor to provide for any winter expedition; only they sent Waller out, with such troops towards the west, as they cared not for, and resolved to use their service no more.

They knew not how to propose the great alterations, they intended, to the parliament; and of all men, the Scotch commissioners were not to be trusted. In the end, they resolved to pursue the method in which they had been hitherto so successful, and to prepare and ripen things in the church, that they might afterwards in due time grow to maturity in the parliament. They agreed therefore in the houses, (and in those combinations they were always unanimous,) "that they would have a solemn fast-day, in which they would *seek God*," (which was the new phrase they brought from Scotland with their covenant,) "and desire his assistance, to lead them out of the perplexities they were in:" and they did as readily agree in the nomination of the preachers who were to perform that exercise, and who were more trusted in the deepest designs, than most of those who named them were: for there was now a schism among their clergy, as well as the laity, and the independents were the bolder, and more political men.

When the fast-day came, (which was observed for eight or ten hours together in the churches,) the preachers prayed "the parliament might be inspired with those thoughts, as might contribute to their honour and reputation; and that they might preserve that opinion the nation had of their honesty and integrity, and be without any selfish ends, or seeking their own benefit and advantage." After this preparation by their prayers, the preachers, let their texts be what they would, told them very plainly, "that it was no wonder there was such division among them in their counsels, when there was no union in their hearts: that the parliament lay under many reproaches, not only among their enemies, but with their best friends; who were the more out of countenance, because they found that the aspersions and imputations which their enemies had laid upon them were so well ground-

ed, that they could not wipe them off: that there was as great pride, as great ambition, as many private ends, and as little zeal and affection for the public, as they had ever imputed to the court: that, whilst they pretended, at the public cost, and out of the purses of the poor people, to make a general reformation, they took great care to grow great and rich themselves; and that both the city and kingdom took notice, with great anxiety of mind, that all the offices of the army, and all the profitable offices of the kingdom, were in the hands of the members of the two houses of parliament; who, whilst the nation grew poor, as it must needs do under such insupportable taxes, grew very rich; and would, in a short time, get all the money of the kingdom into their hands; and that it could not reasonably be expected, that such men, who got so much, and enriched themselves to that degree, by the continuance of the war, would heartily pursue those ways which would put an end to it; the end whereof must put an end to their exorbitant profit." And when they had exaggerated these reproaches as pathetically as they could, and the sense the people generally had of the corruption of it, even to a despair of ever seeing an end of the calamities they sustained, or having any prospect of that reformation in church and state, which they had so often and so solemnly promised to effect, they fell again to their prayers, "that God would take his own work into his hand; and if the instruments he had already employed were not worthy to bring so glorious a design to a conclusion, that he would inspire others more fit, who might perfect what was begun, and bring the trouble of the nation to a godly period."

When the two houses met together, the next day after these devout animadversions, there was another spirit appeared in the looks of many of them. Sir Henry Vane told them, "if ever God had appeared to them, it was in the exercise of yesterday; and that it appeared, it proceeded from God, because (as he was credibly informed by many, who had been auditors in other congregations) the same lamentations and discourses had been made in all other churches, as the godly preachers had made before them; which could therefore proceed only from the immediate Spirit of God."

He repeated some things which had been said, upon which he was best prepared to enlarge; and besought them "to remember their obligations to God, and to their country; and that they would free themselves from those just reproaches; which they could do no otherwise, than by divesting themselves of all offices and charges, that might bring in the least advantage and profit to themselves; by which only they could make it appear, that they were public-hearted men; and as they paid all taxes and impositions with the rest of the nation, so they gave up all their time to their country's service, without any reward or gratuity."

He told them, "that the reflections of yesterday, none of which had ever entered upon his spirit before, had raised another reflection in him than had been mentioned; which was, that it had been often taken notice of, and objected by the king himself, that the numbers of the members of parliament, who sat in either house, were too few to give reputation to acts of so great moment, as were transacted in their councils; which, though it was no fault of theirs, who kept their proper stations, but of those who had deserted their places, and their trusts, by being absent from the parliament; yet that, in truth, there were too many absent, though in the service of the house, and by their appointment; and if all the members were obliged to attend the service of the parliament, in the parliament, it would bring great reputation to their numbers, and the people would pay more reverence, and yield a fuller obedience to their commands:" and then concluded, "that he was ready to accuse himself for one of those who gained by an office he had; and though he was possessed of it before the beginning of the troubles, and owed it not to the favour of the parliament," (for he had been joined with sir William Russel in the treasurership of the navy, by the king's grant,) "yet he was ready to lay it down, to be disposed of by the parliament; and wished, that the profits thereof might be applied towards the support of the war."

When the ice was thus broke, Oliver Cromwell, who had not yet arrived at the faculty of speaking with decency and temper, commended the preachers "for having dealt plainly

and impartially, and told them of their faults, which they had been so unwilling to hear of: that there were many things, upon which he had never reflected before, yet upon revolving what had been said, he could not but confess, that all was very true; and till there were a perfect reformation in those particulars which had been recommended to them, nothing would prosper that they took in hand: that the parliament had done very wisely, in the entrance into the war, to engage many members of their own in the most dangerous parts of it, that the nation might see that they did not intend to embark them in perils of war, whilst themselves sat securely at home out of gun-shot, but would march with them where the danger most threatened; and those honourable persons, who had exposed themselves this way, had merited so much of their country, that their memories should be held in perpetual veneration; and whatsoever should be well done after them, would be always imputed to their example: but, that God had so blessed their army, that there had grown up with it, and under it, very many excellent officers, who were fit for much greater charges than they were now possessed of;" and desired them "not to be terrified with an imagination, that if the highest offices were vacant, they would not be able to put as fit men into them; for, besides that it was not good to put so much trust in any arm of flesh, as to think such a cause as this depended upon any one man, he did take upon him to assure them, that they had officers in their army, who were fit to be generals in any enterprise in Christendom."

He said "he thought nothing so necessary as to purge and vindicate the parliament from the partiality towards their own members;" and made a proffer to lay down his commission of command in the army; and desired, "that an ordinance might be prepared, by which it might be made unlawful for any member of either house of parliament to hold any office or command in the army, or any place or employment of profit in the state;" and so concluded with an enlargement upon "the vices and corruptions which were gotten into the army; the profaneness, and impiety, and absence of all religion; the drinking and gaming, and all manner of licence,

and laziness;" and said plainly, "that till the whole army were new modelled, and governed under a stricter discipline, they must not expect any notable success in any thing they went about."

And this debate ended in appointing a committee, "to prepare an ordinance for the exclusion of all members from the trust aforesaid;" which took up much debate, and depended very long before it was brought to a conclusion; and in the end was called the *self-denying ordinance;* the driving on of which exceedingly increased the inclination of the other party to peace; which they did now foresee would only prevent their own ruins, in that of the kingdom.

Advice came from so many several hands to Oxford, that the king should send a message to the houses for peace, with an assurance that it would not be rejected, that his majesty (who still apprehended as great a division among his own friends upon the conditions of peace, out of the universal weariness of the war, as he discerned there was among his enemies upon the emulation in command, or differences in religion) entered upon the consideration how to bring it to pass. The members of parliament were still sitting at Oxford: but they at London who were most desirous of peace, had given warning to avoid that rock; and that their names should never be mentioned; which would have procured an union between the most irreconcileable parties, in throwing out such overtures. On the other side, the sending a bare message, by a trumpet, was not probably like to produce any other effect, than an insolent answer in the same way, or no answer at all, as his two or three last messages had done.

In conclusion, the king resolved that there should be a short message drawn; in which "the continuance of the war, and the mischiefs it brought upon the kingdom, should be lamented: and therefore his desire expressed, that some reasonable conditions of peace might be thought upon; assuring them that his majesty would be willing to consent to any thing, that could consist with his conscience and honour." He resolved, that he would send this message by some persons of condition; who might, upon conference with their friends, be able to make some impression; at least discover

what might be reasonably expected. And if the parliament should refuse to grant a safe conduct for such messengers, it might well be presumed, what reception the message itself was like to find. The persons he resolved to send, were the duke of Richmond, and the earl of Southampton; both of unblemished honour, and of general reputation in the kingdom. So a trumpet was sent to the earl of Essex for a safe guard, or pass, to those two lords; to the end they might deliver a message from the king to the two houses concerning a treaty of peace. To which the earl of Essex only answered, "that he would acquaint the houses with it, and return their answer;" and so dismissed the trumpet.

The king had now done his part; and the rest was to be perfected there. They who were resolved never to admit a peace, though they could not still prevent a treaty, thought they had advantage enough to object against this unusual message: "If the message itself had been sent, they might have judged, whether it had been like to be attended with good success, and so might have accepted a treaty, if they had approved of it; but this sending of messengers before they knew what they would bring, was an invention to begin a treaty before they admitted it; and to send enemies into their quarters, with authority to scatter their poison abroad:" and therefore, with great passion, they pressed, "that no such pass should be sent." On the other hand it was, with equal passion, alleged, "that the refusal of the safe conduct was a total rejection of peace, before they understood upon what terms it would be offered; which the people would take very ill from them, and conclude that the war must continue for ever; they therefore wished that a safe guard might be sent without delay, and that they would have a better opinion of their friends, than to imagine that the presence or power of two men, how considerable soever, would be able to corrupt or pervert their affections from the parliament."

In this opinion the Scottish commissioners likewise concurred; so that the other party found it necessary to consent, and the safe conduct, after many debates, was sent accordingly. But that they might not seem to their friends

abroad to be overpowered, they revenged themselves in pursuing the despatch of their *self-denying ordinance* with great vehemence; and because the effect of that was manifestly that they should be without a general, it was already proposed, "that sir Thomas Fairfax" (who had behaved himself so signally in their service in the defeat of colonel Bellasis, and taking him prisoner, which gave them their first footing in Yorkshire, from their being shut up and besieged in Hull; in the overthrow of the lord Byron, and taking all the Irish regiments; and lastly in the late battle of York, where he had turned the fortune of the day, when the Scots army was routed, and their general fled) "might now be made their general;" for which Oliver Cromwell assured them he was very equal.[1] And in the discourses upon this subject, (which found all opposition,) as the service of the earl of Essex was much magnified, and his merit extolled, by those who desired to have no other general, so it was undervalued and depressed, with some bitterness and contumely, by those who believed that all they could do would be to no purpose, if he were not totally excluded from any power.

Shortly after the beginning of December, the duke of Richmond and the earl of Southampton, upon their pass, went from Oxford to London; where they were advised not to go much abroad, lest the people should be apt to do them injury; and very few had the courage to come to them, except with great privacy. Only the Scottish commissioners, as men in sovereign authority, and independent upon the parliament, made no scruple of visiting them, and being visited by them. The houses did not presently agree upon the manner of their reception, how they should deliver their message; in which there had been before no difficulty, whilst the war was carried on only by the authority of the parliament. Then the message being delivered to either house,

[1] He was perfectly *equal* to their business, and to *Cromwell's* own. Cromwell had said to Bellievre, the French minister, that *a man never rises so high, as when he does not know whither he is going.* This was certainly Fairfax's case, as appears by his own Memoirs. *He did not know*, from first to last, *whither he was going.*—W.

was quickly communicated to the other; but now the Scottish commissioners made a third estate, and the message was directed to them as well as to the houses. In the end it was resolved, "that there should be a conference between the two houses in the painted chamber; at which the Scottish commissioners should be present, and sit on one side of the table; and that the upper end of it should be kept for the king's messengers:" where there was a seat provided for them, all the rest being bare, and expecting that they would be so too: for though the lords used to be covered whilst the commons were bare, yet the commons would not be bare before the Scottish commissioners; and so none were covered. But as soon as the two lords came thither, they covered, to the trouble of the other; but, being presently to speak, they were quickly freed from that eyesore.

The lords used very few words, in letting them know the king's great inclinations to peace; and delivered and read their message to that purpose; which was received by the lords without any other expressions than "that they should report it to the houses;" and so the meeting broke up: and then many of the lords, and some of the commons, passed some compliments and ceremony to the two lords, according to the acquaintance they had with them, and found opportunities to see them in private, or to send confident persons to them. They found there were great divisions among them, and upon points that would admit no reconciliation: and therefore they believed that there would be a treaty of peace; but they could not make any such guess of the moderation of the conditions of the peace, as to conclude that it would be with effect. For they that most desired the peace, and would have been glad to have had it upon any terms, durst not own that they wished it, but upon the highest terms of honour and security for the parliament; which could neither be secure nor honourable for the king. They discovered, that they who did heartily wish the peace, did intend to promote a treaty between persons named by the king and persons named by the parliament, to meet at some third place, and not that they should send commissioners to Oxford to treat with the king himself; which they had already found to be ineffectual, and

not like to produce a better end: whereas they did believe, or seemed to believe, that how unreasonable soever the propositions should be, upon which they treated, they would, by yielding to some things, when they refused others, sooner prevail with the houses to mollify their demands, than at first to reform them.

This method was not ungrateful to the two lords; who had the same conceptions, that, if sober men were named for commissioners, somewhat would result from the freedom of their communication. And the duke of Richmond sent his secretary Web expressly to Oxford, to know the king's pleasure, "whether, if a third place were proposed for commissioners on both sides to meet, they should consent to it?" which his majesty (though he had no mind to trust others, but where himself was present) was persuaded to approve.[1] But all this was but discourse, and private wishes: for it was never brought into debate; and it was told them very plainly, "that, as long as they stayed in town, the houses would never so much as confer upon the subject of their message; because they found it would be matter of great debate, and spend much time; during which they did not desire their company, nor to be troubled with their infusions." And therefore, as soon as they had received the king's message, they proceeded upon their trial of the archbishop of Canterbury before both houses of parliament, upon an impeachment of high treason, resolving likewise to give that evidence to the people, of what resolution they had to make a peace with the king. The two lords, observing this affected delay in the business they were sent about, and being advised by their friends not to stay longer, but to expect the determination to be sent to Oxford, returned to the king, with some confidence that a treaty would be consented to; and that it would be at some third place, and not at Oxford, and less at London, by commissioners which should be agreed on by both sides. But they brought an express desire, and even a condition to the king, from all those with whom they had conferred, and who were the chief persons who advanced the

[1] This shews that the king was sensible his servants were not so tenacious of his schemes of government as he himself was.—W.

treaty, "that, if that which they laboured for should be yielded to by the parliament, his majesty would not name the lord Digby for one of his commissioners; for that he was so odious, that they would absolutely decline the treaty, before they would admit him to be one of the treaters."

It was, as is said before, a very sad omen to the treaty, that, after they had received the king's message by those noble lords, and before they returned any answer to it, they proceeded in the trial of the archbishop of Canterbury; who had lain prisoner in the Tower, from the beginning of the parliament, full four years, without any prosecution till this time; when they brought him to the bars of both houses; charging him with several articles of high treason; which, if all that was alleged against him had been true, could not have made him guilty of treason. They accused him "of a design to bring in popery, and of having correspondence with the pope," and such like particulars, as the consciences of his greatest enemies absolved him from. No man was a greater or abler enemy to popery; no man a more resolute and devout son of the church of England. He was prosecuted by lawyers, assigned to that purpose, out of those, who from their own antipathy to the church and bishops, or from some disobligations received from him, were sure to bring passion, animosity, and malice enough of their own; what evidence soever they had from others. And they did treat him with all the rudeness, reproach, and barbarity imaginable; with which his judges were not displeased.

He defended himself with great and undaunted courage, and less passion than was expected from his constitution; answered all their objections with clearness and irresistible reason; and convinced all men of his integrity, and his detestation of all treasonable intentions. So that though few excellent men have ever had fewer friends to their persons, yet all reasonable men absolved him from any foul crime that the law could take notice of, and punish. However, when they had said all they could against him, and he all for himself that need to be said, and no such crime appearing, as the lords, as the supreme court of judicatory, would take upon them to judge him to be worthy of death, they resort-

ed to their legislative power, and by ordinance of parliament, as they called it, that is, by a determination of those members who sat in the houses, (whereof in the house of peers there were not above twelve,) they appointed him to be put to death, as guilty of high treason. The first time that two houses of parliament had ever assumed that jurisdiction, or that ever ordinance had been made to such a purpose, nor could any rebellion be more against the law, than that murderous act.

When the first mention was made of their monstrous purpose, of bringing the archbishop to a trial for his life, the chancellor of the exchequer, who had always a great reverence and affection for him, had spoken to the king of it, and proposed to him, "that in all events, there might be a pardon prepared, and sent to him, under the great seal of England; to the end, if they proceeded against him in any form of law, he might plead the king's pardon; which must be allowed by all who pretended to be governed by the law; but if they proceeded in a martial, or any other extraordinary way, without any form of law, his majesty should declare his justice and affection to an old faithful servant, whom he much esteemed, in having done all towards his preservation that was in his power to do." The king was wonderfully pleased with the proposition; and took from thence occasion to commend the piety and virtue of the archbishop, with extraordinary affection; and commanded the chancellor of the exchequer to cause the pardon to be drawn, and his majesty would sign and seal it with all possible secrecy; which at that time was necessary. Whereupon the chancellor sent for sir Thomas Gardiner the king's solicitor, and told him the king's pleasure; upon which he presently prepared the pardon, and it was signed and sealed with the great seal of England, and carefully sent, and delivered into the archbishop's own hand, before he was brought to his trial; who received it with great joy, as it was a testimony of the king's gracious affection to him, and care of him, without any opinion that they who endeavoured to take away the king's life, would preserve his by his majesty's authority.

When the archbishop's council had perused the pardon,

and considered that all possible exceptions would be taken to it, though they should not reject it, they found, that the impeachment was not so distinctly set down in the pardon as it ought to be; which could not be helped at Oxford, because they had no copy of it; and therefore had supplied it with all those general expressions, as, in any court of law, would make the pardon valid against any exceptions the king's own council could make against it. Hereupon, the archbishop had, by the same messenger, returned the pardon again to the chancellor, with such directions and copies as were necessary; upon which it was perfected accordingly, and delivered safely again to him, and was in his hands during the whole time of his trial. So when his trial was over, and the ordinance passed for the cutting off his head, and he called and asked, according to custom in criminal proceedings, "what he could say more, why he should not suffer death?" he told them, "that he had the king's gracious pardon, which he pleaded, and tendered to them, and desired that it might be allowed." Whereupon he was sent to the Tower, and the pardon read in both houses; where, without any long debate, it was declared "to be of no effect, and that the king could not pardon a judgment of parliament." And so, without troubling themselves further, they gave order for his execution;[1] which he underwent with all christian courage and magnanimity, to the admiration of the beholders, and confusion of his enemies. Much hath been said of the person of this great prelate before, of his great endowments, and natural infirmities; to which shall be added no more in this place, (his memory deserving a particular celebration,) than that his learning, piety, and virtue, have been attained by very few, and the greatest of his infirmities are common to all, even to the best men.

When they had despatched this important work, and

[1] The archbishop petitioned the lords that the sentence might be altered from *hanging* to *beheading*, which the houses agreed to. It was a mean request, not made so much to *judges* as to *enemies*. But here the *ruling passion* prevailed. The archbishop's last struggle was to prevent the dignity of his order from being stained by an ignominious punishment.—W.

thereby received a new instance of the good affection and courage of their friends, and involved the two houses in fresh guilt and obloquy, (for too many concurred in it, without considering the heinousness of it, and only to keep their credit clear and entire, whereby they might with the more authority advance the peace that was desired,) they now enter upon the debate, "what answer they should send the king, concerning a treaty for peace." They who desired to advance it, hoped thereby to put an end to all the designs of new modelling the army, and to prevent the increase of those factions in religion, which every day broke out among them, to the notorious scandal of Christianity. They who had no mind to a treaty, because they had minds averse from all thoughts of peace, discerned plainly, that they should not be able to finish their design upon the army, and set many other devices on foot, which would contribute to their convenience, until this longed-for treaty were at an end; and therefore they all agreed to give some conclusion to it; and resolved, that there should be a treaty, and upon the method that should be observed in the conducting it; from which they who should be employed by them, should not recede or be diverted.

And then they nominated sixteen commissioners for the two houses, and four for the parliament of Scotland, and named Uxbridge for the place where the treaty should be; which treaty should be limited to be finished within twenty days from the time when it should begin.

Upon this conclusion, they sent their answer to the message they had received from the king by a trumpet, in a letter from their general to the king's general; in which they informed his majesty, "that, out of their passionate desire of peace, they had agreed to his proposition for a treaty; and that they had assigned Uxbridge for the place where it should be; and had appointed the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Salisbury, and the earl of Denbigh, of the house of peers; and of the commons, the lord Wainman, Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Hollis, Mr. Saint-John," (whom they called the king's solicitor general,) "sir Henry Vane the younger, Mr. Whitlock, Mr. Crew, and Mr. Pri-

deaux; and for the kingdom of Scotland, the lord Lowden, chancellor of Scotland, the lord Maitland," (who, by the death of his father, became earl of Lauderdale by the time of the treaty,) "sir Charles Erskin, and one Mr. Barclay, to be their commissioners; together with Mr. Alexander Henderson, in matters only which relate to the church; to treat, upon the particulars they had entrusted them with, with such persons, as his majesty should please to nominate; for all whom a safe conduct should be sent, as soon as his majesty had named them; as they desired his majesty's safe conduct for the persons named by them:" to none of which the king took any exception, but signed their pass; and sent word to the houses, "that he accepted the treaty, and the place, and that he had nominated, as commissioners for him, the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earl of Southampton, the earl of Kingston, the earl of Chichester, the lord Capel, the lord Seymour, the lord Hatton, controller of the king's household; the lord Colepepper, master of the rolls; sir Edward Hyde, chancellor of the exchequer; sir Edward Nicholas, principal secretary of state; sir Richard Lane, lord chief baron of his court of exchequer; sir Thomas Gardiner, his majesty's solicitor general; sir Orlando Bridgman, attorney of his court of wards; Mr. John Ashburnham, and Mr. Geoffrey Palmer; and desired that a safe conduct might be sent for them, as his majesty had sent for the others; and they should then be ready, at the day that was set down, at Uxbridge."

When this was returned to Westminster, there arose new disputes upon the persons named by the king, or rather against the additions, and appellations of title, which were made to their names; for they did not except against the persons of either of them, though many were most ungracious to them.

When the lord keeper Littleton had fled from Westminster, upon his majesty's commands to attend him at York, the two houses had, in their fury, declared, "that nothing which should, from that time, pass under the great seal, should be good and valid, but void and null." Which they did to discredit any commission, which they foresaw might

issue out for their conviction, trial, and attainder: and, in some time after, they had caused a great seal to be made with the king's image, for the despatch of the necessary process in law, and proceedings in courts of justice; which seal was committed by them to some of their members, who had sat in the chancery, and transacted the business of that court, and applied the seal to all those uses and purposes it had been accustomed unto. They found this declaration and ordinance of theirs invaded in this message they had now received from the king. The lord Dunsmore was created earl of Chichester; sir Christopher Hatton, lord Hatton; sir John Colepepper, lord Colepepper, with the addition of master of the rolls; which office they had bestowed upon Lenthall their speaker, who was in possession of it; sir Edward Hyde was declared chancellor of the exchequer; which, though it was an office they had not meddled with bestowing, yet it had passed the great seal, after it came into the king's hands. Sir Thomas Gardiner was made the king's solicitor; and the patent formerly granted to their beloved Saint-John, stood revoked, which they would not endure, having, as is said, annexed that title to his name when they mentioned him as a commissioner for their treaty. They had the same exception to the chief baron, and to the attorney of the wards; both which offices were in the possession of men more in their favour.

After long debate, they were contented to insert their names in their safe conduct, without their honours or offices; and they were so angry with the chancellor of the exchequer, that they had no mind that he should be styled a knight, because he was not so when he left the parliament: but the Scottish commissioners prevailed in that point, since they had not yet pretended to take away the use of the king's sword from him; so they allowed him, by a majority of votes, to be a knight, and sent their safe conduct, in a manner as is mentioned, to Oxford: upon which the king, upon the desire of the persons concerned, forbore to insist; but giving them still in his own pass, and in his commission whereby they were authorized to treat with them, the style and appellation which belonged to them, and which must be allow-

ed by the others before they begun to treat. The style of their pass was not thought worthy any reply; and because there was animadversion given at the same time, "that they would not, when they met at the treaty, consider any authority that qualified them to treat, but only what should be under the king's sign-manual," though they would not take that for a sufficient warrant for themselves to treat with the king's enemies; they were contented, together with a commission under the great seal of England, to take another likewise with them in that form, and only under the sign-manual, as was desired.

About the end of January, or the beginning of February, the commissioners on both sides met at Uxbridge; which being within the enemy's quarters, the king's commissioners were to have such accommodations, as the other thought fit to leave to them; who had been very civil in the distribution, and left one entire side of the town to the king's commissioners, one house only excepted, which was given to the earl of Pembroke; so that they had no cause to complain of their accommodation, which was as good as the town would yield, and as good as the other had. There was a fair house at the end of the town, which was provided for the treaty, where was a fair room in the middle of the house, which was handsomely dressed up for the commissioners to sit in; a large square table being placed in the middle, and some seats for the commissioners, one side being sufficient for those of either party, and a rail for others who should be thought necessary to be present, which went round. There were many other rooms on either side of this great room, for the commissioners on either side to retire to, when they thought fit to consult together, and to return again to the public debate; and there being good stairs at either end of the house, they never went through each other's quarters; nor met, but in the great room.

As soon as the king's commissioners came to the town, all those of the parliament came to visit and to welcome them, and, within an hour, those of the king's returned their visits with ordinary civilities; each professing great desire and hope, that the treaty would produce a good peace. The

visits were altogether, and in one room; the Scots being in the same room with the English. Either party eating always together, there being two great inns which served very well to that purpose. The duke of Richmond, being steward of his majesty's house, kept his table there for all the king's commissioners: nor was there any restrained from giving and receiving visits apart, as their acquaintance and inclinations disposed them; in which those of the king's party used their accustomed freedom, as heretofore. But on the other side there was great wariness and reservedness, and so great a jealousy of each other, that they had no mind to give or receive visits to or from their old friends, whom they loved better than their new. Nor would any of them be seen alone with any of the king's commissioners, but had always one of their companions with them, and sometimes one whom they least trusted. It was observed by the town, and the people that flocked thither, that the king's commissioners looked as if they were at home, and governed the town, and the other as if they were not in their own quarters: and the truth is, they had not that alacrity and serenity of mind, as men use to have who do not believe themselves to be in a fault.

The king's commissioners would willingly have performed their devotions in the church, nor was there any restraint upon them from doing so, that is, by inhibition from the parliament, otherwise than that by the parliament's ordinance (as they called it) the Book of Common Prayer was not permitted to be read, nor the vestures nor ceremonies of the church to be used. So that the days of devotion were observed in their great room of the inn; whither many of the country, and the train of the commissioners, and other persons, who came every day from London, usually resorted.

When the commissioners on both sides met first together in the room appointed for the treaty, and had taken their seats, it being left to the king's commissioners which side of the table they would take, the earl of Northumberland, who always delivered any thing that was agreed between them, and read all the papers, (after the powers of both sides were examined and perused,) proposed some rules to be observed

in the treaty; "of having nothing binding, except all were agreed upon," and such like; to which there was no objection; proposed, as a direction they had received from the parliament, "that they should first enter upon the matter of religion, and treat four entire days upon that subject, without entering upon any other; and if all differences in that particular were not adjusted within those days, they should then proceed to the next point, which was the militia; and observe the same method in that, and from thence pass to the business of Ireland; which three points being well settled, they believed the other differences would be with more ease composed: and after those twelve days were passed, they were to go round again upon the several subjects, as long as the time limited would continue: his majesty being left at liberty to propose what he thought fit, at his own time, and to break the method proposed." And it was declared, "that the twenty days, limited for the treaty, were to be reckoned of the days which should be spent in the treaty, and not the days of coming or returning, or the days spent in devotion;" there falling out three Sundays and one fast-day in those first twenty days. The method was willingly consented to; the king's commissioners conceiving it would be to no purpose to propose any thing on the king's behalf, till they discerned what agreement was like to be made in any one particular; by which they might take their measures, and they could propose any thing of moment under one of the three heads mentioned before.

There happened a very odd accident, the very first morning they met at the house to agree upon their method to be observed in the treaty. It was a market-day, when they used always to have a sermon, and many of the persons who came from Oxford in the commissioners' train, went to the church to observe the forms. There was one Love, a young man, that came from London with the commissioners, who preached, and told his auditory, which consisted of the people of the town, and of those who came to the market, the church being very full, "that they were not to expect any good from the treaty; for that they were men of blood who were employed in it from Oxford, who intended only to

amuse the people with expectation of peace, till they were able to do some notable mischief to them;" and inveighed so seditiously against all cavaliers, that is, against all who followed the king, and against the persons of the commissioners, that he could be understood to intend nothing else, but to stir up the people to mutiny, and in it to do some act of violence upon the commissioners. Who were no sooner advertised of it, by several persons who had been present in the church, and who gave very particular information of the very words which had been spoken, than they informed the other commissioners of it; gave them a charge in writing against the preacher, and demanded public justice. They seemed troubled at it, and promised to examine it, and cause some severe punishment to be inflicted upon the man; but afterwards confessed, "that they had no authority to punish him, but that they had caused him to be sharply reprehended, and to be sent out of the town:" and this was all that could be obtained; so unwilling they were to discountenance any man who was willing to serve them. This is the same Love,[1] who some years after, by Cromwell's particular prosecution, had his head cut off upon Tower Hill for being against the army.

It is not the purpose of this discourse to set down the particular transactions of this treaty; which were published by the king's order, shortly after the conclusion of it, and all the papers which had been delivered by the commissioners on either side, exposed to the view of the kingdom, in the method and manner in which they were delivered. Only such particulars as fell out in that time, and were never communicated, and many of them known to very few, shall be shortly mentioned, that they who hereafter may have the perusal of this, may know how impossible it was, that this treaty could produce such a peace as both sides would have been glad of; and that they who governed the parlia-

[1] This Love was a presbyterian minister, and here doing the business of the independents, whom he most hated; which looks as if he had been duped into this blundering conduct by somebody wiser than himself.—W.

ment then, had at that time the resolution to act those monstrous things, which they brought afterwards to pass.

The first business to be entered upon being that of religion, the divines of both sides were admitted to be present in the places appointed for them, opposite to each other; and Dr. Steward, clerk of the closet to the king, was a commissioner, as Mr. Henderson was on the other side; and they both sat covered without the bar, at the backs of the commissioners. On the parliament part it was proposed, "that all the bishops, deans, and chapters might be immediately taken away and abolished; and in the room thereof, that there might be another government erected, such as should be most agreeable to God's word, and the practice of the best churches: that the book of common prayer might be taken away, and totally suppressed; and that, instead thereof, a Directory might be used," (in which there was likewise set down as much of the government which they meant to erect for the future, as was necessary to be provided for the present, and which supplied all the use of articles or canons, which they had likewise abolished;) and "that the king himself should take the covenant, and consent to an act of parliament, whereby all persons of the kingdom should be likewise obliged to take it." And the copies of the Covenant and the Directory were delivered at the same time to the king's commissioners; which were very long, and necessary to be read over, before any answer could be made to them. So they took that afternoon to peruse them together, and adjourned their treaty till the next morning; and though they entered upon the reading them before dinner, the Directory was so very long, that they spent all that afternoon, and some part of the night, before they had finished the reading of them. Then, there being many new terms in the Directory, as *congregational*, *classical*, *provincial*, and *synodical*, which were not known in practice, and some expressions in the Covenant which were ambiguous, and, they well knew, were left so, because the persons who framed them were not all of one mind, nor had the same intentions in some of the other terms mentioned before, the king's commissioners caused many questions to be prepared in

writing, to be offered at the next meeting; wherein they desired to be informed, what their meaning was in such and such expressions, in which they knew well they had several meanings, and would hardly concur in one and the same answer; the preparing which papers was throughout the treaty always committed to the chancellor.

Within a day or two after the beginning of the treaty, or rather the day before it did begin, the earl of Lowden, chancellor of Scotland, visited the duke of Richmond privately in his chamber; and either proposed, or was very willing, to have private conference there with the chancellor of the exchequer; upon which the duke, who knew well the other would not decline it, sent to him; and he presently went to the duke's chamber, where he found them both; and after some short compliments, the earl told him, "how stoutly he had defended his knighthood; which the parliament had resolved to have denied, if he had not convinced them." From thence he discoursed of "the great prejudice the parliament had against him, as a man who more industriously opposed peace than any other of the king's council: that he had now a good opportunity to wipe off all those jealousies, by being a good instrument in making this peace, and by persuading his majesty to comply with the desires and supplications of his parliament; which he hoped he would be."

The chancellor told him, "that the king did so much desire a peace, that no man need advise him, or could divert him, if fair and honourable conditions of peace were offered to him; but if a peace could not be had, but upon such conditions as his majesty judged inconsistent with his honour or his conscience, no man could have credit enough to persuade him to accept it; and that, for his own part, without reflecting upon the good or ill opinion the parliament might have of him, he would dissuade him from consenting to it." The other seemed disappointed in his so positive answer; yet, with great freedom, entered upon discourse of the whole matter; and, after some kind of apology, "that Scotland was so far engaged in the quarrel, contrary to their former intentions and professions," he did as good as conclude, "that if the king would satisfy them in the business of the

church, they would not concern themselves in any of the other demands." In which proposition, finding no kind of compliance from the chancellor of the exchequer, but sharp protestations against the demands, as inconsistent with conscience, justice, or religion, the conference broke off, without inclination in either of them to renew it. But, from that time, there was more contradiction, and quick repartees between them two throughout the treaty, than between any other of the body of the commissioners. And it was manifest enough, by the private conferences with other of the commissioners, that the parliament took none of the points in controversy less to heart, or were less united in, than in what concerned the church.

When, upon the next meeting of the commissioners, the questions, which were mentioned before, were read, and delivered by the duke of Richmond, who always performed that part on the behalf of the king's commissioners, as the earl of Northumberland did on the parliament's, there was a visible disorder in their countenances; some of them, smiling, said, We looked into their game; but without offering at any answer, they arose, and went to their room of consultation; where they remained in great passion, and wrangling, many hours: so that the other commissioners, finding that they were not like suddenly to agree, adjourned till the afternoon, and departed to dinner. As soon as they came together in the afternoon, and were sat, the earl of Northumberland said, "that they wondered there should appear any difficulty in any expressions, upon which those questions had been administered in the morning; which to them seemed very clear and plain; however, to give their lordships satisfaction, that they had appointed another noble lord, there present, who was well acquainted with the signification of all those words, to explain what the common sense and meaning of them was." Thereupon, the earl of Lauderdale made a discourse upon the several questions, and what acceptation those expressions and words had. But being a young man, not accustomed to an orderly and decent way of speaking, and having no gracious pronunciation, and full of passion, he made every thing much more difficult than it was before:

so that the commissioners desired, " that they might receive an answer in writing; since it was declared upon the entrance of the treaty, that though in debate any man might say what he thought necessary, yet nothing should be understood to be the sense of either side, but what was delivered in writing; and therefore they desired, that what that noble lord had said, which they presumed was the sense of all the rest, because they had referred to him, and seemed satisfied with what he had delivered, might be given to them in writing; without which they knew not how to proceed, or give an answer to what was proposed to them." This demand, founded upon a rule of their own, which they knew not how to decline, put the Scottish commissioners into great passion: for all the English sat still without speaking a word, as if they were not concerned. The lord Lauderdale repeated what he had said before, a little more distinctly; and the chancellor of Scotland said, " that the things were so plain, that every man could not choose but understand, and remember what was spoken; and that the pressing to put it in writing was only to spend time; which would be quickly out, half the four days assigned for the business of religion being to expire that night;" and therefore passionately desired them, " that they would rest satisfied with what had been spoken, and proceed upon the matter."

It was replied, " that they could not trust their memories so far, as to prepare an answer to their demands concerning the covenant, or directory, except they were sure that they understood the full and declared meaning of their demand; which they had less reason now to believe they did, than before; since there was so much difficulty made to satisfy them in writing; and therefore they must insist upon receiving an answer to the papers they had given:" and two or three of the king's commissioners withdrew, and prepared another paper; in which they set down the reasons which obliged them not to be satisfied with the discourse which had been made, and why they must insist upon the having it in writing; which being communicated to the rest as they sat, was likewise delivered to the others; who could not refuse to receive it, though it was plain enough they never intended

to give any answer in writing; nor they on the king's side, to desist from demanding it: but they declared, "that as they presumed they should, in the end, receive their answer in writing, which they should not depart from, so it was their resolution not to defer their further proceeding upon the matter; but they were ready to prosecute that in the method they would desire;" and so it was resolved, "the next morning, to hear the divines, who were of either party, what they would say against or for episcopacy, and the government, and lands of the church;" which were equally concerned in the debate.

On the king's part, besides Dr. Steward, who was a commissioner in matters relating to the church, there was Dr. Sheldon, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Lany, afterwards bishop of Ely; Dr. Fern, afterwards bishop of Chester; Dr. Potter, then dean of Worcester, and provost of Queen's college in Oxford; and Dr. Hammond; all who, being the king's chaplains, were sent by him to attend the commissioners for their devotions, and for the other service of the church, as the management of the treaty required; which could not be foreseen. On the parliament side, besides Mr. Alexander Henderson, who was the commissioner, Mr. Marshall, a country parson in Essex, and an eminent preacher of that party, who was the chief chaplain in the army; Mr. Vines, a parson likewise in Warwickshire, and a scholar, (both of them of the assembly of divines, and so, very conversant in those points relating to the church, which had been so often disputed there,) Mr. Cheynel, one who had been fellow of Merton College in Oxford,[1] and two or three others; who, bearing no parts in the disputes, had not their names remembered.

Mr. Henderson begun rather with rhetoric than logic, "of the necessity to change the government of the church for the preservation of the state; which was so much in danger, that it could be preserved no other way; and therefore that in conscience it ought to be consented to; that the question was

[1] The infamous fanatic who teazed Chillingworth to death, by the most villanous insults, under the name of charity.—W.

not about the preservation of both, which, by the wisdoms of the parliaments of both nations, was found to be impossible; but since there could but one stand, whether they should be both sacrificed, or the church given up, that the state might be preserved: nor was the question now whether episcopacy was lawful, and the government by bishops consistent with religion; but whether it was so necessary, that religion could not be preserved without it; which was to condemn all the reformed churches of Europe, where there were no bishops, England only excepted. It ought therefore to suffice, that the parliament, which best understood what was good for the nation, had found it to be a very unnecessary, inconvenient, and corrupt government, that had been productive of great mischief to the kingdom from the very time of the reformation; that the bishops had always favoured popery, and preserved and continued many of the rights and customs thereof in their government and practice; and had of late introduced many innovations into the church, by the example and pattern of the church of Rome, and to the great scandal of the protestant churches of Germany, France, Scotland, and Holland; that they had been the occasion of the war between the two nations of Scotland and England; and then of the rebellion in Ireland; and now of the civil war in England; and thereupon, that the parliament, in order to the uniting all the protestant churches, which was the only way to extinguish popery, had resolved to change this inconvenient, mischievous government, and erect another in the place of it, which should advance piety and true religion; and that he hoped the king would concur in so godly an action, which would prove so much for his glory." He took notice of "an old answer formerly made by* a king of England, when the alteration of some laws had been desired of him; *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare;* which, he said, must be a mistake in the impression: that it was impossible for any king to lay it down as a rule, that he will not change the laws; for most

* Let the reader take notice, that Mr. Henderson is mistaken in the English story. *Nolumus, &c.* was not said by a king, but to him. See Coke upon the Statute of Merton, cap. 9.

kings had changed them often for their own and their subjects' benefit: but the meaning must be, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*, we will change them as often as there shall be occasion, but we will not suffer them *mutari*, to be changed by the presumption of others, without our consent." He said, "they did not presume to think of compelling the king to change the government of the church; but they hoped he would willingly do it, upon the humble petition of both kingdoms, and for his own and their benefit: that he should say no more, till he should hear the reasons from the divines on the other side, why his majesty should not consent to the advice of his parliament, since he conceived nothing of conscience could be alleged against it, because it appeared by what his majesty had consented to in Scotland, for the utter abolishing of bishops, that he did not believe in his conscience that episcopacy was absolutely necessary for the support of Christian religion."

Dr. Steward, with a much better countenance, told the commissioners, "that he hoped and knew that their lordships were too well acquainted with the constitution of the church of England, and the foundation upon which it subsisted, to believe it could be shaken by any of those arguments which had been made against it." He said, "that though he did believe it was impossible to prove that a government, settled and continued without intermission, from the time when Christianity was first planted in England, and under which the Christian religion had so much flourished, was an unlawful and antichristian government; yet that he expected, that they who had sworn to abolish it, and came now to persuade their lordships to concur with them in pressing the king to join in the same obligation, would not urge a less argument for such their engagement, than the unlawfulness and wickedness of that government, which conscience obliged them to remove. But Mr. Henderson had wisely declined that argument, though in their common sermons, and other discourses in print, they gave it no better style than Antichristian; and had urged only the inconveniences which had fallen out from it, and the benefit which would result by the change, of which no judgment could be made, till it might be known what government

they did intend to erect in the place of it; and since the union with the foreign protestant churches seemed to be their greatest reason for the prodigious alteration they proposed, he wished that they would set down, which foreign church it is, to which they meant to conform, and make their new government by; for that he was assured, that the model which they seem affected to in their Directory, was not like to any of the foreign reformed churches now in the world." He said, "though he would not take upon him to censure the foreign churches, yet it was enough known, that the most learned men of those churches had lamented, that their reformation was not so perfect as it ought to be, for want of episcopacy; which they could not be suffered to have: and they had always paid that reverence to the church of England, which they conceived due to it, as to the church to which God had vouchsafed the most perfect reformation, because it retains all that was innocent, and venerable in antiquity." He then enlarged upon the original institution of episcopacy; using all those arguments, which are still used by the most learned men in those disputes, to prove, that without bishops there could be no ordination of ministers, and consequently no administration of sacraments, or performance of the ministerial functions.[1] He said, "he would not presume to say any thing of his majesty's having consented to the abrogation of episcopacy in Scotland, though he knew what his majesty himself thinks of it, only that he had an obligation upon him in conscience in this kingdom, which he had not in that, which was his coronation oath, by which he was bound to defend the rights of the church;[2] which alone would make it unlawful for his majesty to consent to what was proposed, both in the point of episcopacy, and the alienation of the lands of the church;[3] which would be direct sacrilege."

[1] As the king unhappily mistook this for gospel, it was no wonder that he, as an honest man and a Christian, should so obstinately adhere to episcopal government.—W.

[2] As to the oath, it was given to the public; and he and the public, who were the only parties concerned, might dissolve that tie.—W.

[3] *Church lands* were given by the public, and by the public might be resumed.—W.

And upon these several points, and what resulted from thence, the divines on both sides spent all that day, morning and afternoon, till it was very late in the night, and most part of the next day; only the commissioners on either side, at the first coming together, mornings and afternoons, presented such papers as they thought fit, upon what had passed in debate: as, the king's commissioners desired to know in writing, "whether the parliament commissioners did believe that the government of the church by bishops was unlawful?"[1] to which they could never obtain a categorical answer.

When the last of the four first days was past, (for it was near twelve of the clock at night,) and the Scottish commissioners observed that nothing was consented to which they looked for, the chancellor of Scotland entered into a long discourse, with much passion, against bishops, "of the mischief they had done in all ages, and of their being the sole causes of the late troubles in Scotland, and of the present troubles in England:" remembered, "that the archbishop of Canterbury had pursued the introduction of the liturgy and the canons into Scotland with so great vehemence, that, when it was desired that the publishing them might be suspended for one month, that the people might be the better prepared to submit to what they had not been before acquainted with, he would by no means consent to that delay; but caused it to be entered upon the next Sunday, against the advice of many of the bishops themselves; which put the people into such a fury, that they could not be appeased. He lamented and complained, that four days had been now spent in fruitless debates; and that though their divines had learnedly made it appear, that episcopacy had no foundation in Scripture, and that it might be lawfully taken away; and that notwithstanding it was evident that it had been the cause of great mischief, and the wisdom of parliament had thought the utter

[1] However, both parties contended, the one for the divine right of episcopacy, the other for the divine right of presbytery; and this, forty years after Hooker had demonstrated, that no form of church government was *jure divino*, but all *jure humano*. Nobody seemed to have remembered this but the marquis of Hertford. See Whitlock's Mem. 2d edit. p. 128.—W.

taking it away to be absolutely necessary for the preservation of the kingdom ; their lordships were still unmoved, and had yielded in no one particular of importance, to give them satisfaction ; from which they could not but conclude, that they did not bring that hearty inclination to peace, which they hoped they would have done ;" and so concluded with some expressions more rude and insolent than were expected.

Whereupon the chancellor of the exchequer, not without some commotion, said, " that he did not wonder that their lordships, who had for some years been accustomed to such discourses, and the more inclined to suppose all that was confidently said to be reasonably proved, and so having not been used to converse with any persons of a contrary opinion, had been brought to consent and approve those alterations, which they had proposed ; but that it seemed very admirable to him, that their lordships could expect, or imagine it possible, that they who never had heard such things said before, nor could understand in so little time what had been now said,[1] should depart from a faith, and a form of worship, in which they had been educated from their cradle, and which, upon so long observation and experience, they looked upon with all possible approbation and reverence, upon only hearing it inveighed against four days ; which would have been much too little time to have warranted a conversion from much less important opinions, they had so long entertained ; though their arguments had had as much weight as they wanted." He said, " they were of opinion, that all those mischiefs and inconveniences which they had mentioned, had in truth proceeded from an over vehement desire to overthrow episcopacy, not from the zeal to support it : that if the archbishop of Canterbury had been too precipitate in pressing the reception of that, which he thought a reformation, he paid dearly for it; which made him the more wonder, that they should blame them, for not submitting to much greater alterations, than were at that time proposed, in four days;

[1] This is very sophistical. The subject of episcopal and presbyterian government had been largely canvassed in public writings by the most learned men of both parties just before the war broke out.—W.

when they reproached him, for not having given them a whole month to consider." He said, "he might assure their lordships with great sincerity, that they were come thither with all imaginable passion and desire, that the treaty might conclude in a happy and blessed peace; as he still hoped it would: but if it should be otherwise, that they would still believe their lordships brought with them the same honourable and pious inclinations, though the instructions and commands from those who trusted them, restrained them from consenting to what in their own judgments seemed reasonable." And so, without any manner of reply, both sides arose, and departed, it being near midnight.

There happened a pleasant accident on one of those days, which were assigned for the matter of religion. The commissioners of both sides, either before their sitting, or after their rising, entertaining themselves together by the fireside, as they sometimes did, it being extremely cold, in general and casual discourses, one of the king's commissioners asking one of the other, with whom he had familiarity, in a low voice, "why there was not in their whole Directory any mention of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed?" (as indeed there is not.) The earl of Pembroke, overhearing the discourse, answered aloud, and with his usual passion, "that he, and many others, were very sorry that they had been left out; that the putting them in had taken up many hours' debate in the house of commons, and that at last the leaving them out had been carried by eight or nine voices; and so they did not think fit to insist upon the addition of them in the house of peers; but many were afterwards troubled at it, and he verily believed, if it were to do again, they should carry it for the inserting them all three;" which made many smile, to hear that the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, had been put to the question, and rejected: and many of the other were troubled, and out of countenance with the reason the good lord had given for the exclusion.

The next subject of the treaty was the business of the militia; which the commissioners positively required "to be entirely vested in the parliament, and in such persons as

they thought fit to be confided in. This, they said, was more necessary than ever, for the securing the people from their fears and jealousies; which were now much increased, and were capable of being assuaged by no other means:" and delivered a large paper to that purpose, which contained no more than had been often said in their declarations, and as often answered in those which had been published by the king. And when the commissioners of the king, whereof there were four very eminent in the knowledge of the law, Lane, Gardiner, Bridgman, and Palmer, made the demand appear to be without any pretence of law or justice, and asserted it to be vested in the king by the law, they never offered to allege any other argument, than the determination of the parliament, which had declared the right of the militia to be in them, from which they could not recede; so that the conferences were very short upon those days, but the papers very long which were mutually delivered; the preparing whereof took up the time; they of that side (even they who most desired the peace) both publicly and privately insisting "upon having the whole command of the militia by sea and land, and all the forts and ships of the kingdom at their disposal; without which they looked upon themselves as lost, and at the king's mercy;" without considering that he must be at theirs, if such a jurisdiction was committed to them. But in this particular, he who was most reasonable among them, thought it very unreasonable to deny them that necessary security; and believed it could proceed from nothing else, but a resolution to take the highest vengeance upon their rebellion.[1]

[1] The parliament had some reason to think, that if they granted the king the militia, (which certainly was his right,) that they should lie at his mercy; they had much more reason to think, that whenever they lay at his mercy, (how much soever he tied himself to forgiveness by treaties,) that he would take his revenge. The king had little reason to think, that if he should lie at theirs, they could ever exert their power further than to keep his administration within the bounds of law. However, he denied with a better grace than they demanded, because he refused to divest himself of his right, and they demanded to be invested in what they had no right to.---W.

Then they entered upon the business of Ireland; in which they thought they had the king at very great advantage, and that his commissioners would not be able to answer the charges they should make upon that particular. And many of the commissioners on the king's part, who had not been well acquainted with those transactions, thought it would be a hard matter to justify all that the king had been necessitated to do; and any thing of grace towards the Irish rebels was as ungracious at Oxford as it was at London; because they knew the whole kingdom had a great detestation of them. They ripped up all that had been done from the beginning of that rebellion; "how the king had voluntarily committed the carrying on that war[1] to the two houses of parliament; that they had levied great sums of money upon the kingdom for that service; but finding that it was like to bring a greater burden upon the kingdom than it could bear, that his majesty had consented to an act of parliament for the encouragement of adventurers to bring in money, upon assurance of having land assigned to them in that kingdom, out of the forfeitures of the rebels, as soon as the rebellion should be suppressed; and had likewise, by the same act, put it out of his power to make any peace or cessation with those rebels, or to grant pardon to any of them, without consent of parliament; and thereupon many of his majesty's subjects had brought in very considerable sums of money, by which they had been able to manage that war without putting this kingdom to further charge; and God had so blessed the protestant forces there, that they had subdued and vanquished the rebels in all encounters; and, probably, by that time, the whole rebellion had been extinguished, if the king had not, contrary to his promise and obligation by that act of parliament, made a cessation with those execrable rebels, when they were not able to continue the war; and had called over many of those regiments, which the parliament had sent over against the Irish, to return hither to fight against the parliament: by means whereof his protestant subjects of

[1] See what is remarked concerning this matter in the first volume of the History.---W.

that kingdom were in great danger to be destroyed, and the kingdom to be entirely possessed by the papists." Enlarging themselves upon this subject, with all the envious insinuations they could devise, to make the people believe, that the king was inclined to and favoured that rebellion. They demanded, "that the king would forthwith declare that cessation to be void; and that he would prosecute the war against those rebels with the utmost fury; and that the act of parliament for their reduction might be executed as it ought to be."

The commissioners of the king prepared and delivered a very full answer in writing to all their demands; at the delivery whereof, they appointed the chancellor of the exchequer to enlarge upon any of those particulars, which made the counsels that had been taken just and necessary. This he did so particularly and convincingly, that those of the parliament were in much confusion, and the king's commissioners much pleased. He put them in mind of "their bringing those very troops, which were levied by the king's authority for the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland, to fight against the king at Edge-hill, under the command of the earl of Essex; of their having given over the prosecution of that war, or sending any supply of arms, money, or ammunition thither; having employed those magazines, which were provided for that service, against his majesty; insomuch as the privy-council of that kingdom had sent to his majesty, that he would provide some other way for the preservation of that kingdom, since they could not be able to support the war any longer, against the united power of the rebels: that all overtures, which his majesty had made towards peace, had been rejected by the parliament: and one hundred thousand pounds, brought in by the adventurers for Ireland, had been sent in one entire sum into Scotland, to prepare and dispose that kingdom to send an army to invade this; which they had done; and till then his majesty had not, in the least degree, swerved from the observation of that act of parliament: but when he saw that the parliament, instead of prosecuting the end and intention of that statute, applied it wholly to the carrying on the war against himself, he

thought himself absolved before God and man, if he did all he could to rescue and defend himself against their violence, by making a cessation with the rebels in Ireland, and by drawing over some regiments of his own army from thence, to assist him in England: which cessation had hitherto preserved the protestants of that kingdom; who were not able without supplies to preserve themselves from the strength and power of the rebels; which supplies his majesty could not, and the parliament would not, send; and therefore, if the protestants there should hereafter be oppressed by the rebels, who every day procured assistance from abroad, and so were like to be more powerful, all the mischiefs and misery that must attend them would, before God and man, be put to the account of the parliament; which had defrauded them of those supplies, which, by his majesty's care, had been raised and provided for them; and not to his majesty, who had done nothing but what he was obliged to do for his own preservation; and if he had not sent for those soldiers from Ireland, they could not have stayed there without a supply of money, clothes, and provisions; which the parliament had not yet sent to that part of the army which remained there, and which could by no other way have subsisted, but by the benefit and security of the cessation."

He told them, "that all this unjustifiable way of proceeding, though it had compelled the king to yield to a cessation, yet could not prevail with him to make a peace with the Irish rebels; from whom he had admitted commissioners to attend him with propositions to that purpose; but that, when he found those propositions and demands so unreasonable, that he could not consent to them in conscience, and that they were inconsistent with the security of his protestant subjects there, he had totally rejected them, and dismissed their commissioners with severe and sharp animadversions: yet that he had given his lieutenant and council there authority to continue the cessation longer, in hope that the rebels there might be reduced to better temper; or that his majesty might be enabled by a happy peace here, which he hoped this treaty would produce, to chastise their odious and obstinate rebellion: and if the parliament would yet give his

majesty sufficient caution, that the war should be vigorously prosecuted there against the Irish, by sending over strong supplies of men and money, he would put an end to that cessation, without declaring it to be void; which he could not in justice do, and the doing whereof would be to no purpose."

The commissioners, visibly out of countenance and angry, made no other reply, but "that they were sorry to find that odious and detestable rebellion had received so much grace, as that commissioners from it had been admitted into the king's presence; and that they wondered there should be any scruple made of declaring that cessation void, that was entered into expressly against the letter of an act of parliament." This reply they gave in writing, with many pathetical expressions against the murders and cruelties that had been used in the beginning of that rebellion; which obliged the king's commissioners to a little more sharpness in their returns than they were inclined to; and to tell them, "that they wished it were in the king's power to punish all rebellion with that severity that was due to it; but since it was not so, he must condescend to treaties, and to all other expedients, which are necessary to reduce his subjects, who are in rebellion, to return to their duty and obedience."

The twelve first days were now spent upon the three great heads,[1] in which there was little advance made towards giving satisfaction to either party; for though, in the matter of religion, the king's commissioners had made such condescensions, as would oblige bishops to be more diligent in preaching, and to be themselves present in the administration of the most important parts of their jurisdiction; yet no such reformation was considerable to those who cared for nothing without extirpation; and in neither of the other particulars any ground had been gotten; and they were sensible, that, in the matter of Ireland, the king's defence would

[1] The king's commissioners had evidently the better of the argument on every one of the *three great heads.* They had an establishment in favour of episcopacy—a *right* in support of the militia—and a reasonable *state policy* in favour of what was done concerning the Irish cessation.—W.

weigh down their clamour and calumny. There happened some accidents in this time of the treaty, which made impression on either party; the first was found in the looks of the parliament commissioners, upon the advertisement they received, that sir Lewis Dives, who was governor of a small garrison in Sherborne in Dorsetshire, had from thence, in a night, upon intelligence with the king's governor of Portland castle, surprised Weymouth, a sea-port possessed by the parliament; which was like to be attended with great benefit to the king.

But whilst the king's commissioners entertained some hope that this loss might have the more disposed the parliament to a just peace, they received advertisement of a much greater loss sustained by the king, and which was more like to exalt the other side. Colonel Langhorn, and Mitton, two very active officers in the parliament service, about Shropshire and North Wales, by correspondence with some townsmen, and some soldiers in the garrison of Shrewsbury, from whence too many of that garrison were unhappily drawn out, two or three days before, upon some expedition, seized upon that town in the night; and, by the same treachery, likewise entered the castle; where sir Michael Earnly, the governor, had been long sick, and rising, upon the alarm, out of his bed, was killed in his shirt; whilst he behaved himself as well as was possible; and refused quarter; which did not shorten his life many days, he being even at the point of death by a consumption; which kept him from performing all those offices of vigilance he was accustoned to, being a gallant gentleman, who understood the office and duty of a soldier by long experience, and diligent observation. The loss of Shrewsbury was a great blow to the king, and straitened his quarters exceedingly, and broke the secure line of communication with Chester, and exposed all North Wales, Hereford, and Worcester, to the daily inroads of the enemy: and the news of this recovered the dejected spirits of the parliament commissioners at Uxbridge.

Yet there had been an odd accident which accompanied the enterprise upon Weymouth, which gave them afterwards more trouble. Sir Lewis Dives had, in his march from

Sherborne, intercepted a packet of letters sent out of Somersetshire to the parliament; and among those there was a letter from John Pyne, a gentleman well known, and of a fair estate in that country, to colonel Edward Popham, a principal officer of the parliament in their fleets at sea, and of a passionate and virulent temper, of the independent party. The subject of the letter was a bitter invective against the earl of Essex, and all those who advanced the treaty of peace, and a great detestation of the peace, with very indecent expressions against the king himself, and all who adhered to him. This letter had been sent by sir Lewis Dives to one of the secretaries at Oxford, and from him to the commissioners at Uxbridge; who, as soon as they received it, communicated it to some of those commissioners, who they knew desired a peace, and were very great friends to the earl of Essex. The Scots were likewise as much inveighed against as any body else. They to whom this letter was communicated, durst not undertake to appear to know any thing of it; but advised, "that the marquis of Hertford might send a copy of it to his brother, the Earl of Essex, with such reflections as he thought fit:" which being done accordingly, the earl of Essex, who was yet general, took it so much to heart, that he desired the marquis of Hertford would send him the original; which was presently done; hoping that it would have given some advantage to the earl of Essex, towards whom the parliament yet behaved itself with all imaginable decency and respect.

The conversation that this letter occasioned between some of the commissioners of both sides, who in private used their old freedom, made a great discovery of the faction that was in the parliament: that there were many who desired to have peace, without any alteration in the government, so they might be sure of indemnity and security for what was past; that the Scots would insist upon the whole government of the church, and in all other matters would defer to the king; but that there was another party, that would have no peace upon what conditions soever, who did resolve to change the whole frame of the government in state as well as church; which made a great party in the army: all those of the par-

liament who desired to remove the earl of Essex from being general of the army, and to make another general, were of that party. There was likewise among the commissioners themselves very little trust and communication; sir Harry Vane, Saint-John, and Prideaux, being, upon the matter, but spies upon the rest; and though most of the rest did heartily desire a peace, even upon any terms, yet none of them had the courage to avow the receding from the most extravagant demand. And there was reason enough to believe, that, if the king had yielded to all that was then proposed, they would likewise have insisted upon all which they had formerly demanded, and upon the delivery up of all those persons, who had faithfully served the king, and had been by them always excepted, as persons never to be pardoned.

For though they had assigned those three general heads, of the church, of the militia, and of Ireland, to be first treated upon, which were all plausible and popular arguments, and in which they who most desired peace would insist at least upon many condescensions, yet they had not, in the least degree, declined any other of their propositions; as the exemption of many of the greatest quality, or of the most declared affections to the king, in the three nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, from pardon; and the making the estates of the rest, under the name of delinquents, liable to pay the charges of the war; in which, or any of the other very unreasonable demands, they had not in their instructions given their commissioners authority in the least particle to recede: they who desired peace, being satisfied that they had prevailed to have a treaty, which they imagined would do all the rest, and that these lesser demands would fall off of themselves, when satisfaction should be given in those important particulars, which more concerned the public; and, on the other side, they who resolved the treaty should be ineffectual, were well content that their commissioners should be instructed only to insist upon those three generals, without power to depart from any one expression, in the propositions concerning those particulars; being satisfied, that in the particular which concerned the church, the Scots would never depart from a tittle; and as sure that the king would never yield to it; and

that, in the militia, they who most desired peace, would adhere to that which most concerned their own security; and in the business of Ireland, besides the opportunity to asperse the king, upon an argument in which the people generally concurred with them, they were safe enough; except the king should absolutely retract and recant all that he had done, and by declaring the cessation void, expose all those who had a hand in it to their censure and judgment; and so dissolve all the authority he had in that kingdom for the future; which they knew he would never do. So that they were safe enough in those three heads of their treaty, without bringing any of their other demands into debate; which would have spent much time, and raised great difference in opinion among them; yet they had those still in reserve, and might reasonably conclude, that if the king satisfied them in the terms of those three propositions, he would never insist upon any of the rest; which could not relate so much to his conscience, or his honour, as the other. Besides, they knew well, that, if, by the king's condescensions, they had full satisfaction in the former three, they who had most passion for peace would, for their own shares in the particular revenge upon those men with whom they were angry enough, and in the preferments which would be then in their disposal, never divide from them in any thing that remained to be demanded.

One night, late, the earl of Pembroke came to the chancellor of the exchequer's lodging to return him a visit; and sat with him some hours; all his discourse being to persuade him to think it reasonable to consent to all that the parliament had demanded. He told him, "that there was never such a pack of knaves and villains, as they who now governed in the parliament; who would so far prevail, if this treaty were broke off, as to remove the earl of Essex; and then they would constitute such an army as should force the parliament, as well as the king, to consent to whatsoever they demanded; which would end in the change of the government into that of a commonwealth." The chancellor told him, "if he believed that, it was high time for the lords to look about them, who would be then no less concerned than the king." He confessed it, and "that they were now sensible, that they

had brought this mischief upon themselves; and did heartily repent it, though too late; and when they were in no degree able to prevent the general destruction which they foresaw: but if the king would be so gracious to them, as to preserve them, by consenting to those unreasonable propositions, which were made by the parliament, the other wicked persons would be disappointed by such his concessions; the earl of Essex would still keep his power; and they should be able, in a short time after the peace concluded, by adhering to the king, whom they would never forsake hereafter, to recover all for him that he now parted with, and to drive these wicked men, who would destroy monarchy, out of the kingdom; and then his majesty would be greater than ever." How extravagant soever this discourse seems to be, the matter of it was the same, which the wisest of the rest, and there were men of very good parts among them, did seriously urge to other of the king's commissioners, with whom they had the same confidence: so broken they were in their spirits, and so corrupted in their understanding, even when they had their own ruin in their view.

The earl of Northumberland, who was the proudest man alive, could not look upon the destruction of monarchy, and the contempt the nobility was already reduced to, and which must be then improved, with any pleasure: yet the repulse he had formerly received at Oxford, upon his addresses thither, and the fair escape he had made afterwards from the jealousy of the parliament, had wrought so far upon him, that he resolved no more to depend upon the one, or to provoke the other, and was willing to see the king's power and authority so much restrained, that he might not be able to do him any harm.

The earls of Pembroke and Salisbury were so totally without credit[1] or interest in the parliament or country, that it was no matter which way their inclinations or affections disposed them; and their fear of the faction that prevailed was so much greater than their hatred towards them, that though they wished they might rather be destroyed than the

[1] An admirable picture of these two lords.---W.

king, they had rather the king and his posterity should be destroyed, than that Wilton should be taken from the one of them, or Hatfield from the other; the preservation of both which from any danger, they both believed to be the highest point of prudence and politic circumspection.

The earl of Denbigh had much greater parts, and saw further before him into the desperate designs of that party that had then the power, than either of the other three, and detested those designs as much as any of them; yet the pride of his nature, not inferior to the proudest, and the conscience of his ingratitude to the king, in some respects superior to theirs who had been most obliged, kept him from being willing to quit the company with whom he had conversed too long. Though he had received from them most signal affronts and indignities, and well knew he should never more be employed by them, yet he thought the king's condition to be utterly desperate, and that he would be at last compelled to yield to worse conditions than were now offered to him. He conferred with so much freedom with one of the king's commissioners, and spent so much time with him in the vacant hours, there having been formerly a great friendship between them, that he drew some jealousy upon himself from some of his companions. With him he lamented his own condition, and acknowledged his disloyalty to the king, with expressions of great compunction; and protested, "that he would most willingly redeem his transgressions by any attempt that might serve the king signally, though he were sure to lose his life in it; but that to lose himself, without any benefit to the king, would expose him to all misery; which he would decline, by not separating from his party." He informed him more fully of the wicked purposes of those who then governed the parliament, than others apprehended or imagined; and had a full prospect of the vile condition himself and all the nobility should be reduced to; yet thought it impossible to prevent it by any activity of their own; and concluded, "that if any conjuncture fell out, in which, by losing his life, he might preserve the king, he would embrace the occasion; otherwise, he would shift the best he could for himself."

Of the commissioners of the house of commons, though, the three named before being excepted, the rest did in their hearts desire a peace, and upon much honester conditions than they durst own; yet there were not two of them who had entire confidence in each other, or who durst communicate their thoughts together: so that though they could speak their minds freely enough, severally, to those commissioners of the king's side with whom they had former friendship, they would not, in the presence of any of their own companions, use that freedom. The debate, that had been in the house, upon the *self-denying ordinance*, had raised so many jealousies, and discomposed the confidence that had formerly been between many of them, that they knew not what any man intended to do; many who had, from the beginning of the troubles, professed to have most devotion for the earl of Essex, and to abhor all his enemies, had lately seemed to concur in that ordinance, which was contrived principally for his dishonour and destruction; and others, who seemed still to adhere to him, did it with so many cautions, that there could be no confidence of their perseverance.

Hollis, who was the frankest among them in owning his animosity and indignation against all the independent party, and was no otherwise affected to the presbyterians, than as they constituted a party upon which he depended to oppose the other, did foresee that many of those who appeared most resolute to concur with him would, by degrees, fall from him purely for want of courage, in which he abounded. Whitlock, who, from the beginning, had concurred with them without any inclinations to their persons or their principles, had the same reason still not to separate from them. All his estate was in their quarters, and he had a nature that could not bear or submit to be undone: yet to his friends, who were commissioners for the king, he used his old openness, and professed his detestation of all their proceedings, yet could not leave them. Pierpoint and Crew, who were both men of great fortunes, and had always been of the greatest moderation in their counsels, and most solicitous upon all opportunities for peace, appeared now to have contracted more bitterness and sourness than formerly; and were more

reserved towards the king's commissioners than was expected; and in all conferences insisted peremptorily, "that the king must yield to whatsoever was demanded in the three demands which had been debated." They all valued themselves "upon having induced the parliament, against all opposition, to consent to a treaty; which producing no effect, they should hereafter have no more credit;" and it plainly appeared, that they had persuaded themselves, that, in the treaty, they should be able to persuade the king's commissioners to concur with them; and that the king would yield upon the very same argument and expectation, that the earl of Pembroke had offered to the chancellor.

Some of them, who knew how impossible it was to prevail with the commissioners, or, if they could be corrupted so far in their judgments, how much more impossible it would be to persuade the king to consent to what was so diametrically against his conscience and his honour, and, in truth, against his security, did wish, "that in order to get the time of the treaty prolonged, some concessions might be made in the point of the militia, in order to their security; which being provided for might probably take off many persons, who, out of that consideration principally, adhered to those who they thought were most jealous of it, and most solicitous for it." And this seemed such an expedient to those to whom they proposed it, that they thought fit to make a debate among all the commissioners; "and if it did produce no other effect, than the getting more days to the treaty, and making more divisions in the parliament, both which they might naturally expect from it, the benefit was not small that would attend it; for, as long as the treaty lasted, there could be no advance made towards new modelling the army, the delay whereof would give the king likewise more time to make his preparations for the field; towards which he was in no forwardness." And this consideration prevailed with the commissioners to send their opinion to the king, "that he would give them leave to propose, when the next day came for the debate of the point of the militia, that the whole militia of the kingdom should be settled in such a number of persons, for seven or eight years, who should be all sworn to the ob-

servation of all the articles which should be agreed upon in the treaty; after the expiration of which time, which would be sufficient to extinguish all jealousies, it should be restored to the king." And they sent the king a list of such names, as they wished might be inserted in the proposition, of persons in credit with the parliament, to which his majesty might add the like number of such, of whose fidelity he was most assured.

The earls of Essex, Northumberland, Warwick, and Manchester, with Fairfax and Cromwell, were among those they recommended to be named by the king. With this message they sent two of their own body, whereof they much desired the chancellor of the exchequer would be one; but he excused himself, having in the debate changed his mind, and upon somewhat that was like to fall out was against the making the proposition at all; and it was with great difficulty that his majesty was prevailed with to consent that such an overture should be made. But being unwilling to dissent from his commissioners' judgment, and especially in confidence that it would be rejected, and in hope that it would gain time by lengthening the treaty, his majesty was contented, that the commissioners should make such an offer as is mentioned, and name the persons they had proposed of the parliament party; but then, he sent a list of such persons as himself thought fit to trust in that affair; and in whom, together with the others, he would have the power of the militia to be vested; and in the list he named the chancellor of the exchequer, who was very much troubled at the honour, and writ very earnestly to the king to exempt him from the envy of such a trust, by leaving out his name, and putting in another of a higher qualification. But by this time, the term assigned for the treaty drawing towards an end, they who had first advised this expedient, had not the same opinion of the success; and had plainly discovered, that the parliament would not consent to add one day more to the treaty. So the further prosecution of the overture in that manner was laid aside. For the king's commissioners concluded, "that at this time to offer any particular names from the king to be trusted with the militia, was but to expose those

persons to reproach, as some of them were very ungracious and unpopular; and to give the other side an excuse for rejecting the offer, upon exception to their persons." However, that they might see a greater condescension from the king in that point, than he had ever yet been induced to, they offered, "that the militia should be so settled for the space of seven years, as they had desired, in such a number of persons as should be agreed upon; a moiety of which persons should be nominated by the king, and the other moiety by the parliament:" which was rejected by them with their usual neglect.

From this time the commissioners, on both sides, grew more reserved, and colder towards each other; insomuch as in the last conferences the answers and replies upon one another were sharper and more reflecting than they had formerly been: and in their conference upon the last day, which held most part of the night, it was evident, either side laboured most to make the other seem to be most in fault. The king's commissioners delivered a paper, which contained a sum of all that had been done in the treaty, and observed, "that after a war of so many years, entered into, as was pretended, for the defence and vindication of the laws of the land, and the liberty of the subject, in a treaty of twenty days, they had not demanded any one thing, that, by the law of the land, they had the least title to demand; but insisted only on such particulars as were against law, and the established government of the kingdom; and that much more had been offered to them for the obtaining of peace, than they could with justice or reason require:" with which they were so offended, that they, for some time, refused to receive the paper, upon pretence, "that the time for the treaty was expired;" because it was then after twelve of the clock of the night of the twentieth day: but at last they were contented to receive it, finding that it would not be less public, and would more reflect upon them, if they rejected it: and so they parted, a little before the break of day.

The next day, being Sunday, they rested in the town, that they might in the afternoon decently take their leaves of each other; though Monday, according to the letter of

their pass, was the last day of their freedom, and at that season of the year their journey to Oxford might require two days, as they had spent two days in coming thither; and the commissioners for the parliament had given them a paper, in which they declared, "that they might safely make use of another day for their return, of which no advantage should be taken." But they having on Sunday performed their mutual visits to each other, parted with such a dryness towards each other, as if they scarce hoped to meet again; and the king's commissioners were so unwilling to run any hazard, or to depend upon their words, that they were on the Monday morning so early in their coaches, that they came to Oxford that night, and kissed the king's hand; who received them very graciously; and thanked them for the pains they had taken. Surely the pains they had taken, with how little success soever, was very great; and they who had been most inured to business, had not in their lives ever undergone so great fatigue for twenty days together, as at that treaty. The commissioners seldom parted, during that whole time, till two or three of the clock in the morning. Besides, they were obliged to sit up later who were to prepare such papers as were directed for the next day, and to write letters to Oxford; so that, if the treaty had continued much longer, it is very probable many of the commissioners must have fallen sick for want of sleep; which some of them were not satisfied with in three or four days after their return to Oxford. Thus ended the treaty of Uxbridge,[1] the particulars whereof were, by the king's command, shortly after published in print, and never contradicted by the parliament.

The king spoke to those he trusted most at that time, with much more melancholy of his own condition, and the state of his affairs, than he had used to do. The loss of

[1] All this true. But we are told from good hands, that the king would have made more satisfactory concessions, but that at this instant of time he had received a letter from Montrose, that he had subdued all Scotland, which was on the matter true. But so wayward was the poor king's fate, that his good as well as his ill successes brought him but nearer to ruin.—W.

Shrewsbury was attended with many ill consequences; and that which had seemed to bring some kind of recompense for it, which was the surprise of Weymouth, proved but a dream; for the enemy had lost but one part of the town, which they, in a short time after, recovered again by the usual negligence of the king's governors. So that his majesty told them, "he found it absolutely necessary to pursue his former resolution of separating the prince his son from himself, that the enemy might not, upon any success, find them together; which, he said, would be ruin to them both; whereas, though he should fall into their hands whilst his son was at liberty, they would not dare to do him harm." He seemed to have very reasonable apprehensions, that upon the loss of a battle he might become a prisoner; but he never imagined, that it would enter into their thoughts to take away his life; not that he believed they could be restrained from that impious act by any remorse of conscience, or that they had not wickedness enough to design and execute it: but he believed it against their interest; and would often, in discourse, say, "of what moment the preservation of his life was to the rebels; and how much they were concerned to preserve it, in regard, that if his majesty were dead, the parliament stood dissolved; so that there would be an end of their government:"[1] which, though it were true in law, would have little shaken their government, of which they were too long possessed to part with easily.

But this was a speculation of that nature, that nobody had reason to endeavour to change the king's opinion in that particular; and his majesty thought of nothing so much as hastening the prince's journey; and to that purpose commanded those who were appointed to attend him to be ready by a short day, and resolved that his highness should make his journey directly to Bristol, and continue his residence there, till some emergent alteration should make his remove from

[1] After what the parliament had already done, nothing was ever weaker than this imagination of the poor king's, that because by the constitution a parliament is dissolved on the king's death, that therefore this parliament in such a case would dissolve themselves.---W.

thence necessary. For whatever discourse was made of raising an army in the west, the king had no purpose to put the prince into the head of any such army; and though Goring had prevailed to be sent, with a strong party of horse, and some foot, into Hampshire, upon pretence of securing the west from Waller's incursion, and upon some other design; yet the king had not the least purpose, that he should be where the prince was; though he was not himself without that design at that present, as shall be made out anon, and meant by that device to withdraw himself from the command of prince Rupert, which the king did not apprehend. But having no more in his purpose than is said before, he sent the lord Hopton to Bristol to provide a house for his highness, and to put that city into as good a posture of security for the prince's residence as was necessary; nor was there any other strength designed to attend about his highness's person, than one regiment of horse, and one regiment of foot, for his guards, and both under the command of the lord Capel; who was likewise to raise them upon his own credit and interest; there being, at that time, not one man raised of horse or foot, nor any means in view for the payment of them, when they should be raised; nor, indeed, for the support of the prince's family, or his person. In so great a scarcity and poverty was the king himself, and his court at Oxford.

There happened an accident at this time, that reconciled the minds of many to this journey of the prince into the west, and looked like a good omen that it would produce good effects; though it proved afterwards an occasion of much trouble and inconvenience. When the king returned through Somersetshire, after the defeat of the earl of Essex in Cornwall, there had been a petition delivered to him, in the names of the gentry, clergy, freeholders, and others his majesty's protestant subjects of the county of Somerset, in which they desired, "that his majesty would give them leave to petition the parliament, that there might be a treaty for peace; and that they might have liberty to wait upon his majesty in person in his march; and that, when they came to a nearer distance, they might then go before, and

deliver their petition; and if they should not obtain their so just request, they would then assist his majesty to get that by the sword, which could be obtained no other way." And to that purpose, they desired leave "to put themselves in arms, to attend his majesty in the journey." This petition, how indigested, and impracticable soever in the manner and way proposed, was contrived by some persons of unquestionable fidelity to the king; who thought, that, under this specious title of petitioners for peace, they might draw even that whole populous county to appear for the king; and therefore the king gave them a gracious reception, and liberty to do all that they desired; believing it possible, that he might even from thence recruit his foot, which he most desired. But his majesty's speedy march left that design to be better weighed and digested.

Upon the first fame of the prince's being to visit the west, and to keep his court there, some gentlemen, of the best quality in the west, came to Oxford, as intrusted by the rest to inform his majesty, "that they had now formed the design, they had formerly presented to him, much better than it was; and that the four western counties, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, had resolved to enter into an association, and to be joint petitioners to the parliament for peace; which petition should be sent by very many thousands of the most substantial freeholders of the several counties, all who should have money enough in their purses to defray their charges, going and returning; and whosoever refused to join in the petition should be looked upon as enemies to peace and their country, and treated as such: so that this address could not but have great influence upon the parliament, being under the style of one and all; and could not but be looked upon as such." They desired the king, "that the prince might be made general of this association; in order to which, they would provide for his support according to his dignity; and, in the first place, take care for the raising a good guard of horse and foot, for the safety of his royal person."

Though this design, in the notions thereof, was as wild and unpracticable as the former, yet his majesty thought not

fit to discountenance and reject it. It was very vehemently pressed by many persons of quality, in the name of the four western counties, and among those who took it most to heart, sir John Stawel was the chief; a gentleman of one of the largest estates that any man possessed in the west, who had, from the beginning of the parliament, shewed very great affection to the person of the king, and to the government that was settled, both in church and state; and from the beginning of the war had engaged both his own person, and his two sons, in the most active part of it, with singular courage; and had rendered himself as odious to the parliament, as any man of that condition had done. This gentleman with the assistance and counsel of Mr. Fountain, a lawyer of eminency, and who had been imprisoned, and banished London, for his declared affection to the crown, had first entertained and formed this project in their own thoughts, and then, upon the communication of it with some gentlemen, and more of the substantial farmers and freeholders of the country, found such a general concurrence from them, that they concluded it could not but have good success, and would bring the parliament to be glad of peace. They were both very tenacious of what they had once resolved, and believed all who objected against their undertaking to be averse from peace; so that the king concluded, that he would so far comply with them, as to make the prince general of their association, which he was sure could do no harm; and they were so much delighted with the condescension, that they promised speedily to make provision for the prince's support, and for the raising his guards of horse and foot; and to that purpose made haste to Bristol, that all things might be ready against the prince came thither.

Upon these reasons, the prince had two commissions granted to him; this, to be general of the association, and another, to be general of all the king's forces in England. For when the king declared his nephew prince Rupert to be general, in the place of the earl of Brentford, his highness desired, "that there might be no general in England but the prince of Wales, and that he might receive his commission from him;" which his majesty took well; and so that com-

mission of generalissimo was likewise given to the prince, when in truth it was resolved he should act no part in either, but remain quiet in Bristol, till the fate of all armies could be better discerned.

The indisposition and melancholy which possessed the court at Oxford, and all the king's party, was preserved from despair only by the wonderful discontents and animosities in the parliament; which kept them from pursuing the advantages they had by united counsels. As soon as the commissioners were returned from Uxbridge, and that a treaty could be now no further urged, the independent party (for so they were now contented to be called, in opposition to the other, which was styled presbyterian) appeared barefaced, and vigorously pressed on their *self-denying ordinance*, that so they might proceed towards modelling their new army, by putting out the old officers; during the suspension whereof, there was no care for providing for the troops they had, or making recruits, or preparing any of those provisions which would be necessary for taking the field. They were now entered into the month of March, which was used as a strong argument by both parties, the one urging, "from the season of the year, the necessity of expediting their resolution for the passing the ordinance, that the army might be put into a posture of marching;" the other pressing, "that so great an alteration ought not to be affected, when there was so short a time to make it in: that there would be apparent danger, that the enemy would find them, without any army at all fit to take the field;" and therefore desired, "that all things might stand as they were till the end of the next campaign; when, if they saw cause, they might resume this expedient." The other party were loud against the delay, and said, "that was the way to make the war last; for managed as it had been, they should be found at the end of the next campaign in the same posture they were now in; whereas they made no doubt but, if this ordinance was passed, they should proceed so vigorously, that the next campaign should put an end to the war."

The debate continued many days in the house of commons, with much passion, and sharp reflections upon things and

persons; whilst the house of peers looked on, and attended the resolution below. Of the presbyterian party, which passionately opposed the ordinance, the chief were, Hollis, Stapleton, Glin, Waller, Long, and others, who believed their party much superior in number: as the independent party was led by Nathaniel Fiennes, Vane, Cromwell, Haslerig, Martin, and others, who spoke more and warmer than they that opposed them. Of the house of peers, there was none thought to be of their party but the lord Say; all the rest were supposed to be of the earl of Essex's party; and so, that it was impossible that the ordinance would ever pass in the house of peers, though it should be carried by the commons. But they were in this, as in many other things, disappointed; for many, who had sat silent, and been thought to be of one party, appeared to be of the other. They who thought they could never be secure in any peace, except the king were first at their mercy, and so obliged to accept the conditions they would give him, were willing to change the hand in carrying on the war; and many, who thought the earl of Essex behaved himself too imperiously, were willing to have the command in one who was more their equal. Many were willing he should be angered and humbled, that himself might be more concerned to advance a peace, which he had not been forward enough to do, whilst he held the supreme command.

When the debate grew ripe, Saint-John, Pierpoint, Whitlock, and Crew, who had been thought to be of the party of the earl of Essex, appeared for passing the ordinance, as the only way to unite their counsels, and to resist the common enemy; whereas, "they discovered by what they heard abroad, and by the spirit that governed in the city, that there would be a general dissatisfaction in the people, if this ordinance were not passed." Then they fell into a high admiration of the earl of Essex, and extolling his great merit, and seemed to fear, "that the war would never be carried on so happily as it had been under him; or if it were, that the good success must be still imputed to his conduct and courage, which had formed their armies, and taught them to fight." And by this kind of oratory, and professing to de-

cline their own inclinations and wishes, purely for peace and unity, they so far prevailed over those who were still surprised, and led by some craft, that the ordinance was passed in the house of commons, and transmitted to the peers for their consent; where nobody imagined it would ever pass.

After the battle at York, and the earl of Manchester was required to march with his army against the king, upon the defeat of the earl of Essex in Cornwall, the Scottish army marched northwards, to reduce the little garrisons which still remained in those parts; which was easily done. And thereupon they marched to Newcastle, which, being defended only by the townsmen, and in no degree fortified for a siege, was given up to them, after as good a resistance as could be made in such a place, and by such people. So that, having no more to do in those parts, the parliament thought not fit yet to dismiss them to return into their own country, not knowing yet how far their new modelled army would be able to carry on all their designs. And therefore the Scottish army was again advanced as far as York, and was to be applied as there should be occasion.

Hereupon the king resumed the consideration how he might give such a disturbance to Scotland as might oblige that army to return, to quench the fire in their own country; for all the advance which had been made towards that, in the conferences with the earl of Mountrose, and in the commitment of duke Hamilton, had been discontinued from that time, by the king's not being able to give any troops to that earl, by the protection whereof the loyal party of that kingdom might come to his assistance, and discover their affection to his majesty. And though this conjuncture was not more favourable, by any power his majesty had to contribute troops or any other assistance towards such an enterprise, yet the vigorous spirit of the earl of Mountrose had stirred him up to make some attempt, whether he had any help or no. The person whom that earl most hated and contemned was the marquis of Argyle, who had then the chief government of Scotland; and though he was a man endued with all the faculties of craft and dissimulation that were necessary to bring great designs to effect, and had, in respect of his estate and

authority, a very great interest in that kingdom; yet he had no martial qualities, nor the reputation of more courage, than insolent and imperious persons, whilst they meet with no opposition, are used to have.

The earl of Mountrose believed that his getting safely into Scotland was much more difficult than it would be to raise men enough there to control the authority of Argyle. There was at that time at Oxford the earl of Antrim, notorious for nothing, but for having married the dowager of the great duke of Buckingham, within few years after the death of that favourite. By the possession of her ample fortune, he had lived in the court in great expense and some lustre, until his riot had contracted so great a debt, that he was necessitated to leave the kingdom, and to retire to his own fortune in Ireland, (which was very fair,) together with his wife, who gave him great reputation, being a lady, besides her own great extraction and fortune, as heiress to the house of Rutland, and wife and mother to the dukes of Buckingham, of a very great wit and spirit; and made the littleness of her present husband (a handsome man too) well enough received in all places: so that they had lived in Ireland in great splendour, as they might well do, till that rebellion drove the lady again from thence, to find a livelihood out of her own estate in England. And so she had upon the queen's first coming to Oxford likewise brought herself thither; where she found great respect from all. The earl of Antrim, who was a man of excessive pride and vanity, and of a marvellous weak and narrow understanding, was no sooner without the counsel and company of his wife, than he betook himself to the rebels, with an imagination that his quality and fortune would give him the supreme power over them; which, certainly, he never intended to employ to the prejudice of the king, but desired to appear so considerable, that he might be looked upon as a greater man than the marquis of Ormond; which was so uneasy and torturing an ambition to him, that it led him into several faults and follies. The rebels were glad of his presence, and to have his name known to be among them, but had no confidence in his abilities to advise or command them; but relied much more

upon his brother, Alexander Macdonnel, who was fast to their party, and in their most secret counsels.

The earl, according to his natural unsteadiness, did not like his station there, but, by disguise, got himself into the protestant quarters, and from thence into England, and so to Oxford, where his wife then was, and made his presence not unacceptable ; the king not having then notice of his having ever been among the Irish rebels ; but he pretended to have great credit and power in Ireland to serve the king, and to dispose the Irish to a peace, if he should have any countenance from the king; which his majesty knew him too well to think him capable of. Whether the earl of Antrim had his original extraction in Scotland, or the marquis of Argyle his in Ireland, must be left to the determination of the bards of the family of Macdonnels; to the superiority whereof they both pretend; and the earl of Antrim, to much of those lands in the Highlands of Scotland, which were possessed by Argyle: and the greatest part of his estate in Ireland was in that part of Ulster that lies next Scotland, and his dependants of the same language and manner of living with the Highlanders of Scotland. The knowledge of this disposed the earl of Mountrose to make a great acquaintance with him as soon as he came to Oxford, and to consult with him, whether it might not be possible to draw a body of men out of Ireland to be such a foundation for raising forces in Scotland, as might advance the enterprise he had so long in his heart ; it being notorious enough that the Highlanders in Scotland had very good affections for the king ; and desired nothing more than to free themselves from the hard slavery they had long endured under the tyranny of Argyle. The passage over the sea in those places, between Scotland and Ireland, is so narrow, that the people often made their markets in one and the other in the space of few hours ; and the hardiness of both people is such, that they have no delight in the superfluity of diet or clothing, or the great commodity of lodging; and were very fit to constitute an army that was not to depend upon any supplies of money, or arms, or victual, but what they could easily provide for themselves, by the dexterity that is universally practised in those parts.

The earl of Antrim, who was naturally a great undertaker, and desired nothing so much, as that the king should believe him to be a man of interest and power in Ireland, was infinitely exalted, when he discovered by the earl of Mountrose, that he was thought to have credit enough in that part of Ireland to perform a service for the king, which he never before entertained a thought of. So that he presently undertook to the earl of Mountrose, "that, if the king would grant him a commission, he would raise an army in Ireland, and transport it into Scotland; and would himself be in the head of it; by means whereof he believed all the clan of the Macdonnels in the Highlands of Scotland might be persuaded to follow him." When the earl of Mountrose had formed such a reasonable undertaking, as he believed the earl of Antrim might in truth be able to comply with, he acquainted the lord Digby with it, who was a friend to all difficult designs, and desired him "to propose it to the king, and to let his majesty know, that he was so confident of the earl of Antrim's being able to perform what should be necessary, (for he would be very well content, if he would send over a body but of two thousand men into Scotland, which he well knew he could easily do,) that he would himself be in the Highlands to receive them, and run his fortune with them, if his majesty would give him leave to gather up such a number of his countrymen about Oxford, as would be willing to accompany him; and with those he would make his way thither; and that, if no time were lost in prosecuting this design, he did hope, that by the time the Scottish army in England should be ready to take the field, they should receive such an alarm from their own country, as should hinder their advance."

Upon this overture, the king conferred with the two earls together; and finding the earl of Antrim forward to undertake the raising as many men as should be desired, if he might have the king's commission to that purpose; and knowing well, that he had, in that part of the kingdom, interest enough to do it; and the earl of Mountrose as confidently assuring his majesty, "that with two thousand men landed in the Highlands, he would quickly raise an army, with which he could disquiet that kingdom;" and the design being more probable

than any other that could be proposed to the same purpose, his majesty resolved to encourage it all he could, that is, to give it countenance; for he had neither money, nor arms, nor ammunition, to contribute to it in any degree. The great objection that appeared at the first entrance into it was, "that though the earl of Antrim had power in Ulster, and among the Roman Catholics, he was very odious to the protestants, and obnoxious to the state at Dublin, many things being discovered against him of his correspondence with the rebels, which were not known when he came into England." But that which gave most umbrage (for nobody suspected his conjunction with the rebels) was his declared "malice to the lord lieutenant, the marquis of Ormond, and the contempt the marquis had of him, who would therefore undervalue any proposition should be made by him, who was of so notable a levity and inconstancy, that he did not use to intend the same thing long. There could be no trusting him with any commission independent upon the marquis of Ormond, or to do any thing in Ireland without his privity, and such a limitation would by no means be grateful to the other. And though the benefit the king's friends in Scotland would receive by the carrying away any body of men out of Ulster, would be a great lessening and abatement of the strength of the Irish rebels, who had the command over those parts; but then, if the earl of Antrim, under any authority from the king, should indiscreetly behave himself, (as no man who loved him best had any confidence in his discretion,) all the reproaches cast upon his majesty, of his countenancing those rebels, would receive the greatest confirmation imaginable."

The foresight of these difficulties gave life to an intrigue in the court, which for some time had been eclipsed. Daniel O'Neile, (who was in subtlely and understanding much superior to the whole nation of the old Irish) had long laboured to be of the bedchamber to the king. He was very well known in the court, having spent many years between that and the Low Countries, the winter season in the one, and the summer always in the army in the other; which was as good an education towards advancement in the world as that age knew. He had a fair reputation in both climates, having a

competent fortune of his own to support himself without dependence or beholdingness, and a natural insinuation and address, which made him acceptable in the best company. He was a great observer and discerner of men's natures and humours, and was very dexterous in compliance where he found it useful. As soon as the first troubles begun in Scotland, he had, with the first, the command of a troop of horse; to which he was by all men held very equal, having had good experience in the most active armies of that time, and a courage very notorious. And though his inclinations were naturally to ease and luxury, his industry was indefatigable, when his honour required it, or his particular interest, which he was never without, and to which he was very indulgent, made it necessary or convenient.

In the second troubles in Scotland he had a greater command, and some part in most of the intrigues of the court, and was in great confidence with those who most designed the destruction of the earl of Strafford; against whom he contracted some prejudice in the behalf of his nation: yet when the parliament grew too imperious, he entered very frankly into those new designs, which were contrived at court, with less circumspection than both the season and the weight of the affair required. And in this combination, in which men were most concerned for themselves, and to receive good recompense for the adventures they made, he had either been promised, or at least encouraged by the queen, to hope to be made groom of the bedchamber, when a vacancy should appear. When the civil war begun, he, being then in the Low Countries, having made an escape out of the Tower, where he stood committed by the parliament upon a charge of high treason, chose rather to be lieutenant colonel of horse to prince Rupert, than the name of a greater officer, which he might well have pretended to; presuming that, by his dexterity, he should have such an interest in that young prince, as might make his relation to him superior to those who had greater titles. He had the misfortune, at the first coming of the prince, to have credit with him to make some impressions and prejudices, which he would have been glad afterwards to have removed, when he saw others had credit

likewise to build upon those foundations, which he hoped to have had the sole authority to have supervised and directed. Amongst those to whom the queen had promised preferment in the beginning of the troubles, O'Neile was one, whom her majesty had promised to make groom of the king's bedchamber; and Percy and Wilmot being now made lords, by virtue of that promise that had been made at the same time, he had pressed likewise to be admitted into that attendance; and the queen had been very solicitous with the king on his behalf, being conscious to herself, that he had been encouraged to hope it. But the king could by no means be prevailed with to receive him, having contracted a prejudice against him with reference to the earl of Strafford, or upon some other reason, which could not be removed by all his friends, or by the queen herself; who therefore bid him expect a better conjuncture, which O'Neile took very heavily; and the more, because his condition in the army was less pleasant to him, by prince Rupert's withdrawing his graces from him.

The design of uniting the earls of Mountrose and Antrim, which was yet wholly managed with the king by the lord Digby, who was likewise of intimate friendship with O'Neile, gave him opportunity to set this pretence again on foot. It was universally known that O'Neile, whether by alliance, or friendship, or long acquaintance, had more power with the earl of Antrim than any man; and that by the ascendant he had in his understanding, and the dexterity of his nature, in which he was superior to most men, he could persuade him very much; and it was as notorious, that the marquis of Ormond loved O'Neile very well, and had much esteem for him. Upon this ground the lord Digby told the king, "that he had thought of an expedient, which he did believe might relieve him in the perplexities he sustained concerning the conduct of the earl of Antrim;" and then proposed "the sending O'Neile with him; who should first dissuade him from affecting to have any commission himself to act in Ireland; and then incline him to depend upon the assistance and authority of the marquis of Ormond; who should be required by the king to contribute all he could for the making

those levies of men, and for impressing of ships, and other vessels, for their transportation into the Highlands; and then that he should go over himself with the earl, and stay with him during his abode in Dublin; by which he would preserve good intelligence between him and the marquis of Ormond; and dispose the marquis of Ormond to gratify him in all things that might concern so important a service; which, besides the letters he should carry with him from the king, his own credit with the marquis, and his singular address, would easily bring to pass."

This proposition was very agreeable to the king, who knew O'Neile was very equal to this function; and the lord Digby did not in the least insinuate any design for O'Neile's advantage in the service, which would have diverted the negociation: thereupon his majesty himself spoke to him of the whole design, the lord Digby desiring he would do so, pretending that he had not communicated any part of it to him, being not sure of his majesty's approbation. He received it as a thing he had never thought of; and when the king asked him, "whether he thought the earl had interest enough in those parts of Ireland to levy and transport a body of men into the Highlands?" he answered readily, "that he knew well, that there were so many there, where the earl's estate lay, who depended absolutely upon him, that there would be men enough ready to go whither, or do what he required them: and that the men were hardy and stout for any service: but the drawing a body of them together, and transporting them, would require, he doubted, more power than the earl himself had, or was master of. He said, there were two objections in view, and a third, that he was not willing for many reasons to make. The first was, that nothing of that nature could be done without the authority and power of the marquis of Ormond, which, no doubt, would be applied to any purpose his majesty should direct; yet that the earl of Antrim had behaved himself so indiscreetly towards the marquis, and so unhandsomely disobliged him, that it could not but be the severest command his majesty could lay upon the marquis, to enter into any kind of conjunction or conversation with that earl. The second was, that, though

the earl's interest could make as many men as he desired to enter into any action or engagement he would prescribe, he much doubted the Irish commander in chief, who had the military power of those parts, would hardly permit a body of those men, which they reckoned their best soldiers, to be transported; and thereby their own strength to be lessened;" which was an objection of weight, and not mentioned before to the king, nor considered by him. He said "he was unwilling to make another objection, which reflected upon a person so dear to him, and for whom he would at any time lay down his life; which was, that he much feared the earl of Antrim had not steadiness of mind enough to go through with such an undertaking, which otherwise would be as easy as honourable."

The king, well satisfied with the discourse he made, told him, "that he was not himself without the same apprehensions he had, and knew but one way to secure it, which was, if he would undertake the journey with him, by which all his fears would be composed; his counsel would govern the earl in all things, and his credit with the marquis of Ormond, which should be improved by his majesty's recommendation, would prevent any prejudice in him towards the earl." The king added, "that the service itself was of so vast importance, that it might preserve his crown, and therefore his conducting it, without which he saw little hope of success, would be a matter of great merit, and could not be unrewarded." O'Neile seemed wonderfully surprised with the proposition, and in some disorder (which he could handsomely put on when he would) said, "that he would never disobey any command his majesty would positively lay upon him: but that he should look upon it as the greatest misfortune that could befall him, to receive such a command, as would deprive him of attending upon his majesty in the next campaign, where he was sure there must be a battle; when he had rather lose his life than be absent." Then he said, "though the earl of Antrim was his kinsman and his friend, and one, who, he thought, loved him better than he did any other man, yet he was the last man in England with whom he would be willing to join in any enterprise;" mentioning

his pride, and levity, and weakness, and many infirmities, which made it appear more requisite, that a wiser man should have the application of his interest; which he knew must be himself. The king renewed his desire to him to undertake the service, as the greatest he could perform for him; and commanded him to confer with the lord Digby, who should inform him of all particulars, and should find the best way to make the earl of Antrim to communicate the affair to him, and to wish his assistance; which was easily brought to pass; nor was there any thing relating to it that the lord Digby had not before imparted to him; though the king suspected it not.

The lord Digby had now brought the business to the state he wished; and, within two or three days, told the king "how glad the earl of Antrim was, that he had leave to communicate the matter with O'Neile; and desired nothing more than that his majesty would command him to go over with him; which was an excellent point gained, wherein he had himself chosen the person who was only fit to be with him, whereas he might have been jealous, if he had been first recommended to him. The earl had, upon the first mention of him, taken notice of the difficulty he might find to draw his men out of the Irish quarters, by the opposition of those who commanded there in chief: but, he said, if the king would make O'Neile go with him, all that difficulty would be removed; for Owen O'Neile, who was uncle to Daniel, was the general of all the Irish in Ulster, and incomparably the best soldier, and the wisest man that was among the Irish rebels, having long served the king of Spain in Flanders in very eminent command; and the earl said, that he was sure Daniel had that credit with his uncle, that he would not refuse, at his request, to connive at what was necessary for the earl to do; which was all he desired."

The lord Digby left not this circumstance, which he pretended never to have thought of before, unobserved, to advance the counsel he had given for employing O'Neile; whom he took occasion then to magnify again; and told the king, "that he had already convinced the earl of Antrim of the folly of desiring any other commission than what the

marquis of Ormond should find necessary to give him; and how impossible it was for him to have any success in that design, without the cheerful concurrence and friendship of the marquis: which the earl was now brought to confess, and solemnly promised to do all he should be advised, to compass it." But after all this, he lamented "his obstinate aversion to undertake the journey, for many reasons; and had obliged him, under all the obligations of the friendship that was between them, that he would prevail with his majesty, that he might not be absent from his charge in the army, in a season when there must be so much action, and when his majesty's person, whom he so dearly loved, must be in so great danger; and that he had told him freely, that he could not honestly move his majesty to that purpose, whom he knew to be so possessed of the necessity of his going into Ireland with the earl, that he should despair of the whole enterprise, which was the most hopeful he had in his view, if he did not cheerfully submit to act his part towards it: but that notwithstanding all he had said, by which he had shut out all further importunity towards himself, his majesty must expect to be very much struggled with; and that O'Neile would lay himself at his feet, and get all his friends to join with him in a supplication for his majesty's pardon; and that there was no more to be done, but that his majesty, with some warmth, should command him to desist from further importunity, and to comply with what he should expect from him; which, he said, he knew would silence all further opposition: for that O'Neile had that entire resignation to his majesty's pleasure, that he would rather die than offend him." Upon which, and to cut off all further mediation and interposition, the king presently sent for him, and graciously conjured him, with as much passion as he could shew, "to give over all hope of excuse, and to provide for his journey within three or four days."

All things being thus disposed, and the king expecting every day that the earl and O'Neile would take their leaves, the lord Digby came to him, and said, "Mr. O'Neile had an humble suit to his majesty at parting; which to him did not seem unreasonable, and therefore he hoped his majesty

would raise the spirits of the poor man, since he did believe in his conscience, that he desired it more for the advancement of his majesty's service, than to satisfy his own ambition." He put him in mind of the long "pretence he had to be groom of his bedchamber, for the which he could not choose but say, that he had the queen's promise, at the same time when Percy and Wilmot had the like for their honours, which they had since received the accomplishment of: that his majesty had not yet rejected the suit, but only deferred the granting it; not without giving him leave in due time to hope it: that there could not be so proper a season for his majesty to confer this grace: that Mr. O'Neile was without a rival, and, in the eyes of all men, equal to his pretence; and so no man could be offended at the success: that he was now upon an employment of great trust, chosen by his majesty as the only person who could bring an enterprise of that vast expectation to a good end, by his conduct and dexterity: that it must be a journey of great expense, besides the danger or hazard of it; yet he asked no money, because he knew there was none to be had; he begged only that he might depart with such a character, and testimony of his majesty's favour and good opinion, that he might be thereby the better qualified to perform the trust that was reposed in him: that the conferring this honour upon him, at this time, would increase the credit he had with the earl of Antrim, at least confirm his unconstant nature in an absolute confidence in him: it would make him more considerable to the marquis of Ormond, and the council there, with whom he might have occasion often to confer about his majesty's service; but, above all, it would give him that authority over his countrymen, and would be such an obligation upon the whole Irish nation, (there having never yet been an Irishman admitted to a place so near the person of the king,) that it might produce unexpected effects, and could not fail of disposing Owen O'Neile, the general, to hearken to any thing his nephew should ask of him."

How much reason soever this discourse carried with it, with all the insinuations a very powerful speaker could add to it in the delivery, the lord Digby found an aversion and

weariness in the king all the time he was speaking; and therefore, as his last effort, and with a countenance as if he thought his majesty much in the wrong, he concluded, "that he much doubted his majesty would too late repent his aversion in this particular; and that men ought not to be sent upon such errands with the sharp sense of any disobligation: that if his majesty pleased, he might settle this affair in such a manner as O'Neile might go away very well pleased, and his majesty enjoy the greatest part of his resolution: that O'Neile should not be yet in so near an attendance about his person: that the employment was full of hazard, however would require a great expense of time: that he was a man of that nature as would not leave a business half done, and would be ashamed to see his majesty's face, before there were some very considerable effect of his activity and industry; and considering what was to be done in Ireland, and the posture of affairs in England, it might be a very long time before O'Neile might find himself again in the king's presence, to enter upon his office in the bedchamber;" and therefore proposed, "that the hour he was to leave Oxford he might be sworn groom of the bedchamber; by which he should depart only with a title, the effect whereof he should not be possessed of, before he had very well deserved it, and returned again to his majesty's presence; which must take up much time, and possibly might require more than the other had to live." This last prevailed more than all the rest, and the imagination that the other might be well satisfied with a place he should never enjoy, made his majesty consent, that, in the last article of time, he should be sworn before his departure; with which the other was well contented, making little doubt but that he should be able to despatch that part of the business to which he was incumbent, in so short a time, as he might return to his attendance in the bedchamber (where he longed to be) sooner than the king expected; which fell out accordingly, for he was again with his majesty before the battle of Naseby in the summer following.

Whilst this intrigue was carrying on for Mr. O'Neile, there was another, as unacceptable, set on foot on the behalf

of the earl of Antrim; for whose person the king had as little regard or kindness, as for any man of his rank. The duchess of Buckingham his wife was now in Oxford, whom the king always heard with favour; his majesty retaining a most gracious memory of her former husband, whom he thought she had forgotten too soon. This lady, being of a great wit and spirit, when she found that the king now thought her husband good for somewhat, which he had never before done, was resolved he should carry with him some testimony of the king's esteem; which she thought would be at last some justification of the affection she had manifested for him. She told the king, "that her husband was so eclipsed in Ireland, by the no-countenance his majesty had ever shewed towards him, and by his preferring some who were his equals to degrees and trusts above him, and by raising others, who were in all respects much inferior to him, to the same title with him, and to authority above him, that she believed he had not credit and interest enough to do the service he desired to do: that, in that country, the lords and greatest men had reputation over their tenants and vassals, as they were known to have grace from the king; and when they were known to be without that, they had no more power than to exact their own just services." She lamented "the misfortune of her husband, which she had the more reason to do, because it proceeded from her; and that, whereas he had reason to have expected, that, by his marriage with her, he might have been advanced in the court, and in his majesty's favour, he had found so little benefit from thence, that he might well believe, as she did, that he suffered for it; otherwise, it would not have been possible for a person of the earl of Antrim's estate and interest, and so well qualified, as she had reason to believe him to be in all respects, after the expense of so much money as he spent in attendance upon the court, to be without any mark or evidence of his majesty's favour; and to return now again in the same forlorn condition into Ireland, would but give his enemies more encouragement to insult over him, and to cross any designs he had to advance his majesty's service." In conclusion she desired, "that the king would

make her husband a marquis;" without which she did as good as declare, that he should not undertake that employment. Though his majesty was neither pleased with the matter nor the manner, he did not discern so great an inconvenience in the gratifying him, as might weigh down the benefit he expected with reference to Scotland; which the earl of Mountrose every day, with great earnestness, put him in mind of. Thereupon, he gave order for a warrant to make the earl of Antrim a marquis.

And so he and O'Neile, being well pleased, begun their journey for Ireland; and at the same time the earl of Mountrose took his leave of the king with several gentlemen, as if they meant to make their way together into Scotland. It was looked upon as a very desperate attempt, the king's extending at that time no further northward than Worcester, all between that and Scotland being possessed by the parliament and the Scots army. But the earl of Mountrose, after he had continued his journey two or three days in that equipage, which he knew could be no secret, and that it would draw the enemy's troops together for the guard of all passes to meet with him, was found missing one morning by his company; who, after some stay and inquiry, returned back to Oxford, whilst that noble person, with incredible address and fatigue, had not only quitted his company and his servants, but his horse also, and found a safe passage, for the most part, on foot, through all the enemy's quarters, till he came to the very borders: from whence, by the assistance of friends whom he trusted, he found himself secure in the Highlands, where he lay quiet, without undertaking any action, until the marquis of Antrim, by the countenance and assistance of the marquis of Ormond, did make good so much of his undertaking, that he sent over his kinsman Alexander Macdonnel, a stout and an active officer, (whom they called by an Irish appellation Calkito,) with a regiment of fifteen hundred soldiers; who landed in the Highlands in Scotland, at or near the place that had been agreed on, and where the earl of Mountrose was ready to receive them, which he did with great joy; and quickly published his commission of being general for

the king over all that kingdom. With this handful of men, brought together with those circumstances remembered, he brought in so many of his own countrymen to join with him, as were strong enough to arm themselves at the charge of their enemies; whom they first defeated; and every day increasing in power, till he fought and prevailed in so many several battles, that he made himself, upon the matter, master of that kingdom; and did all those stupendous acts, which deservedly are the subject of a history by itself, excellently written in Latin by a learned prelate of that nation. The preamble to it was not improper for this relation, being made up of many secret passages which were not known to many, and in which the artifices of court were very notable, and as mysterious as the motions in that sphere use to be. There will be hereafter occasion, before the conclusion of this discourse, to mention that noble lord again, and his zeal for the crown, before he came to his sad catastrophe.

The king found, that, notwithstanding all the divisions in the parliament, and the factions in the city, there would be an army ready to march against him before he could put himself into a posture ready to receive it; and was therefore the more impatient that the prince should leave Oxford, and begin his journey to Bristol; which he did within a fortnight after the expiration of the treaty at Uxbridge. And since the king did at that time within himself (for publicly he was contented that it should be otherwise believed) resolve that the prince should only keep his court in the west, that they might be separated from each other, without engaging himself in any martial action, or being so much as present in any army, it had been very happy, and, to discerning men, seemed then a thing desirable, if his majesty had removed his court into the west too, either to Bristol, or, which it may be had been better, to Exeter. For since Reading and Abingdon were both possessed by the parliament, and thereby Oxford become the head quarter, it was not so fit that the court should remain there; which, by the multitude of ladies, and persons of quality, who resided there, would not probably endure such an attack of the enemy, as the situation of the place, and the good fortifications which enclosed it,

might very well bear. Nor would the enemy have sat down before it, till they had done their business in all other places, if they had not presumed that the inhabitants within would not be willing to submit to any notable distress. And if, at this time, a good garrison had only been left there, and all the court, and persons of quality removed into the west with the prince, it would probably have been a means speedily to have reduced to the king's obedience those small garrisons which stood out; and the king himself might, by the spring, have been able to have carried a good recruit of men to his army, and might likewise have made Oxford the place of rendezvous, at the time when it should be fit for him to take the field. But the truth is, not only the ladies, who were very powerful in such consultations of state, but very few of the rest, of what degree or quality soever, who had excellent accommodations in the colleges, which they could not have found any where else, would, without extreme murmuring, have been content to have changed their quarters. Besides, the king had that royal affection for the university, that he thought it well deserved the honour of his own presence; and always resolved, that it should be never so exposed to the extremity of war, as to fall into those barbarous hands, without making all necessary conditions for the preservation of so venerable a place from rapine, sacrilege, and destruction.

And so that consideration of removing the court from thence was only secretly entered upon, and laid aside, without making it the subject of any public debate: and since the other could not have been effected, it had been well if the whole council, which was assigned to attend the prince, had been obliged to have performed that service. But both the duke of Richmond and the earl of Southampton, men of great reputation and authority, excused themselves to the king, for not submitting to that his command, and for desiring to continue still about his person; the one thinking it some diminution to his greatness to be at any distance from his majesty, to whom he had adhered with that signal fidelity and affection, when so many had deserted him; the other being newly married, and engaged in a family, which he

could not, without infinite inconveniences, have left behind him; nor without more have carried with him. Nor was the king difficult in admitting their excuses, having named them at first to obviate some jealousies, which were like to be entertained upon the first discourse of sending the prince into the west, than that he believed they would be willing to be engaged in the service. However, it was easy to be foreseen, that, upon any ill accidents, which were like enough to fall out, they who were still obliged to that duty, would not have reputation enough to exact that general submission and obedience, which ought to be paid to the commands of the prince; and of which there was shortly after too manifest evidence.

There was an act of divine justice about this time executed by those at Westminster, which ought not to be forgotten in the relation of the acts of this year; and which ought to have caused very useful reflections to be made by many who were equally engaged; and some of whom afterwards did undergo the same fate. There hath been often mention before of sir John Hotham, who shut the gates of Hull against the king, and refused to give him entrance into that town, when he came thither attended only by his own servants, before the beginning of the war: and was, in truth, the immediate cause of the war. It was the more wonderful, that a person of a full and ample fortune, who was not disturbed by any fancies in religion, had unquestioned duty to the crown, and reverence for the government both of church and state, should so foolishly expose himself and his family, of great antiquity, to comply with the humours of those men, whose persons he did not much esteem, and whose designs he perfectly detested. But as his particular animosity against the earl of Strafford first engaged him in that company, so his vanity and ambition, and the concessions the king had made to their unreasonable demands, made him concur further with them than his own judgment disposed him to. He had taken upon him the government of Hull, without any apprehension or imagination that it would ever make him an accessary to rebellion; but believed, that, when the king and parliament should be reconciled,

the eminence of that charge would promote him to some of those rewards and honours, which that party resolved to divide among themselves. When he found himself more dangerously and desperately embarked than he ever intended to be, he bethought himself of all possible ways to disentangle himself, and to wind himself out of the labyrinth he was in. His comportment towards the lord Digby, and Ashburnham, and his inclinations at that time, have been mentioned before at large; and from that time, the entire confidence the parliament had in his son, and the vigilance and jealousy that he was known to have towards his father, was that alone that preserved him longer in the government. Besides that they had so constituted the garrison, that they knew it could never be in the father's power to do them hurt. But, after this, when they discovered some alteration in the son's behaviour, and that the pride and stubbornness of his nature would not suffer him to submit to the command of the lord Fairfax, and that superiority over both his father and him, with which the parliament had invested that lord, and had some inkling of secret messages between the marquis of Newcastle and young Hotham, they caused both father and son to be suddenly seized upon, and sent up prisoners to the parliament; which immediately committed them to the Tower, upon a charge of high treason.

Though they had evidence enough against them, yet they had so many friends in both houses of parliament, and some of that interest in the army, that they were preserved from further prosecution, and remained for above the space of a year prisoners in the Tower without being brought to any trial; so that they believed their punishment to be at the highest. But when that party prevailed that resolved to new model the army, and to make as many examples of their rigour and severity as might terrify all men from falling from them, they called importunately, that the two Hothams might be tried by a court of war, for their treachery and treason; and they who had hitherto preserved them had now lost their interest; so that they were both brought to their trial, about the time of the treaty of Uxbridge, and both condemned to lose their heads. The principal charge against the father,

being his having dismissed the lord Digby; and a letter being produced, by the treachery of a servant, against the son, which he had sent to the marquis of Newcastle. The vile artifices that were used both before and after their trial were so barbarous and inhuman, as have been rarely practised among Christians. It was declared to them, or at least insinuated by Hugh Peters, who was the chaplain sent to them to prepare them to die, that there was no purpose to take both their lives, but that the death of one of them should suffice; which put either of them to use all the inventions and devices he could to save himself; and so the father aggravated the faults of the son, and the son as carefully inveighed against the father, as a man that hated the parliament and all their proceedings, and either of them furnished Mr. Peters (upon whose credit and mediation they both depended) with arguments against the other.

The father was first condemned to suffer upon a day appointed, and the son afterwards to be executed in like manner the day following: the night before, or the very morning, that sir John Hotham was to die, a reprieve was sent from the house of peers to suspend his execution for three days. The commons were highly incensed at this presumption in the lords; and, to prevent the like mischief for the future, they made an order "to all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and other ministers of justice, that no reprieve should be granted, or allowed for any person against whom the sentence of death was pronounced, except the same had passed, and had the consent of both houses of parliament; and that if it passed only by the house of peers, it should be looked upon as invalid and void, and execution should not be thereupon forborne, or suspended." By this accident the son was brought to his execution before his father, upon the day on which he was sentenced to suffer; who died with courage, and reproaching "the ingratitude of the parliament, and their continuance of the war;" concluded, "that, as to them, he was very innocent, and had never been guilty of treason." The father was brought to the scaffold the next day: for the house of commons, to shew their prerogative over the lords, sent an order to the lieutenant of the Tower, that he should cause him to

be executed that very day, which was two days before the reprieve granted by the house of peers was expired. Whether he had yet some promise from Peters, that he should only be shewed to the people, and so returned safe again to the Tower, which was then generally reported and believed, or whether he was broken with despair, (which is more probable,) when he saw that his enemies prevailed so far, that he could not be permitted to live those two days which the peers had granted him, certain it is that the poor man appeared so dispirited, that he scarce spoke one word after he came upon the scaffold, and suffered his ungodly confessor Peters to tell the people, "that he had revealed himself to him, and confessed his offences against the parliament;" and so he committed his head to the block. This was the woful tragedy of these two unhappy gentlemen; in which there were so many circumstances of an unusual nature, that the immediate hand of Almighty God[1] could not but appear in it to all men who knew their natures, humours, and transactions.

Since the last office of a general, with reference to the king's quarters, which the earl of Essex performed before he found it necessary to surrender his commission to the parliament, was done before the end of this year, it will be proper in this place to mention it, both in respect of the nature of the thing itself, and the circumstances with which it was conducted, it being a letter signed by the earl of Essex, and sent by a trumpet to prince Rupert, but penned by a committee of parliament, and perused by both houses before it was signed by their general; who used, in all despatches made by himself, to observe all decency in the forms. It was a very insolent letter, and upon a very insolent occasion. The parliament had, some months before, made an ordinance against giving quarter to any of the Irish nation which should be tak-

[1] Perhaps this was as weak a remark as the historian ever made, certainly unworthy of him. These men did not act more against conscience in siding with parliament against the king than many others; they were not distinguished for their violence in opposition, and they returned to their obedience sooner; and yet these are picked out for the objects of divine vengeance. *The tower fell upon them*, yet certainly they were not sinners above the rest of the *Galilæans*.—W.

en prisoners, either at sea or land ; which was not taken notice of, or indeed known to the king, till long after ; though the earl of Warwick, and the officers under him at sea, had, as often as he met with any Irish frigates, or such freebooters as sailed under their commission, taken all the seamen who became prisoners to them of that nation, and bound them back to back, and thrown them overboard into the sea, without distinction of their condition, if they were Irish. And in this barbarous manner very many poor men perished daily ; of which, when it was generally known, the king said nothing, because none of those persons were in his majesty's service ; and how barbarous soever the proceedings were, his majesty could not complain of it, without undergoing the reproach of being concerned on the behalf and in favour of the rebels of Ireland.

But there had been lately, in some service at land, some prisoners taken of the king's troops, and upon pretence that they were Irishmen, as many as they thought to be of that nation were all hanged, to the number of ten or twelve. Whereupon prince Rupert, having about the time when he heard of that barbarity, taken an equal number of the parliament soldiers, caused them likewise to be hanged upon the next tree ; which the parliament declared to be an act of great injustice and cruelty ; and appointed the earl of Essex to expostulate with prince Rupert, in the letter they had caused to be penned for him very rudely, and to send a copy of their ordinance enclosed in the said letter, with expressions full of reproach for his " presumption in making an ordinance of theirs the argument to justify an action of so much inhumanity ;" which was the first knowledge the king had of any such declaration, with reference to the war in England ; nor had there been, from the beginning of it, any such example made. Prince Rupert brought this letter to the chancellor, and desired him to prepare such an answer as he thought fit for him to return ; which he did, with a sharpness equal to the provocation, in which he was not usual to be reserved, and presented it to the consideration of his royal highness prince Rupert, and the lords of the council ; and it being approved, prince Rupert signed it and sent it to the earl of Essex ;

who, the day before he received it, had given up his commission, but sent it immediately to the two houses, who were exceedingly enraged at it; some of them saying, "that they wondered it was so long on the way, for that certainly it had been prepared at Uxbridge."

It was upon the fourth of March that the prince parted from the king his father, and, about a week after, came to Bristol; where he was now to act a part by himself, as the affairs should require, or rather where he was to sit still without acting any thing; the end being, as was said before, only that the king and the prince might not be exposed at the same time to the same danger; without any purpose that he should raise any more strength than was necessary to the security of his own person, or that indeed he should move further westward than that city. His highness had not been there above two or three days, when letters were intercepted, that discovered a design of Waller, who had passed by the lord Goring, and put relief into Taunton, and hoped to have surprised Bristol in his return; whereupon two or three of his correspondents fled out of the city, and the rest were so exasperated with the discovery, that they readily consented to any thing that was proposed. So the lord Hopton put all things into so good a posture, that there was no further cause to apprehend Waller; and he himself was required to return to London, to deliver up his commission upon the self-denying ordinance.

Thus ended the year 1644,[1] which shall conclude this book.

[1] *Namely, Old Style.*

THE HISTORY

OF THE REBELLION, &c.

BOOK IX.

Introduction to the ninth book and the year 1645--The self-denying ordinance passes in the house of lords--The earl of Essex resigns his commission: And divers other officers—Cromwell only finds means to keep his commission, and new models the army under Fairfax—The state of the western counties when the prince of Wales came to Bristol—The prince summons the commissioners of the four associated western counties to Bridgewater—The commissioners of Devon complain of sir Richard Greenvil: Upon which the prince sends three commissioners of his own to Exeter, and so to return to Bristol—The lord Goring joins the king at Oxford—Resolutions taken at Oxford—The lord Goring sent back into the west—Marches of the king's army towards the north, whilst sir Thomas Fairfax, with his, sat down before Oxford—The king storms, and takes Leicester—The king marches back towards Oxford—Sir Thomas Fairfax draws off from Oxford—The battle of Naseby—The king retires by Litchfield to Bewdley: thence to Hereford—Thence prince Rupert retires to Bristol—The affairs of the west in the mean time—The prince of Wales comes to Barnstable—Of the club-men in Somerset and Dorsetshire—Transactions at Barnstable: especially complaints against sir R. Greenvil—Sir Thomas Fairfax with his army enters Somersetshire—Beats Goring near Lamport—The king goes to Abergaveny to meet the commissioners of South Wales—Thence to Ragland castle—Thence to Chepstow—Thence to Cardiff—Sir T. Fairfax takes Bridgewater—The king's letter to prince Rupert against treating of peace at that time—The king's letter to the prince of Wales from Brecknock—The lord Goring makes propositions to the prince—Which the prince granted—A design to petition the prince to send conditions

of peace, prevented—A conference between the lord Goring and one of the prince's council—Prince Rupert delivers up Bristol—The king goes to Doncaster—Thence to Newark—Mountrose defeated by David Lesley—The king goes to Oxford—Thence to Ragland—The Scots rise from before Hereford, and march into the north—The king's letter to prince Rupert upon his surrender of Bristol—The king's letter concerning the prince of Wales—The lord Goring retires into France—A letter from the king to the prince—Another from his majesty—The lord Wentworth's horse beaten at Ashburton—The king marches to Chester, where his horse are routed by Pointz—The king retires to Denbigh to rally his horse—Thence to Bridgenorth—Thence to Newark—The condition of the garrison of Newark at this time—The lord Digby routed at Sherborne in Yorkshire—An account of the discontents of some of his chief commanders against the king at Newark—The king retreats towards Oxford: And arrives there—The king's affairs in the west about this time—The lord Hopton made general of the remains of the western army. Lord Wentworth to command the horse, Greenvil the foot—Sir Richard Greenvil refusing the command, the prince commits him to prison—The lord Hopton's forces routed at Torrington by sir Thomas Fairfax—The prince goes to Pendennis—Thence by sea to Scilly—The lord Hopton's army dissolved—Touching duke Hamilton prisoner at Pendennis—Duke Hamilton is removed to the Mount—Upon the surrender of the Mount he obtained his liberty—The king's transactions at Oxford—Cromwell takes Winchester and Basing—The king sends another message for peace, which was laid aside by the houses—His majesty sends again for a safe conduct for the duke of Richmond and others—Their answer—The king sends to desire a personal treaty at Westminster—Their answer—The king sends again—Their ordinance thereupon—The king tries to deal with the independents—But in vain—A treaty between the king and the Scots, set on foot by the interposition of France: and Montrevil is sent for that purpose—Montrevil's negociation with the king—The year 1645 concludes with the defeat of the lord Astley's forces.

WE are now entering upon a time, the representation and description whereof must be the most unpleasant and ungrateful to the reader, in respect of the subject-matter of it; which must consist of no less weakness and folly on the one side, than of malice and wickedness on the other; and as unagreeable and difficult to the writer, in regard that he shall please very few who acted then upon the stage of business,

but that he must give as severe characters of the persons, and severely censure the actions of many, who wished very well, and had not the least thought of disloyalty or infidelity, as well as of those, who, with the most deliberate impiety, prosecuted their design to ruin and destroy the crown: a time, in which the whole stock of affection, loyalty, and courage, which at first alone engaged men in the quarrel, seemed to be quite spent, and to be succeeded by negligence, laziness, inadvertency, and dejection of spirit, contrary to the natural temper, vivacity, and constancy of the nation: and in which they who pretended most public-heartedness, and did really wish the king all the greatness he desired to preserve for himself, did sacrifice the public peace, and the security of their master, to their own passions and appetites, to their ambition, and animosities against each other, without the least design of treachery, or damage towards his majesty: a time, in which want of discretion and mere folly produced as much mischief as the most barefaced villany could have done; and in which the king suffered as much by the irresolution and unsteadiness of his own counsels, and by the ill humour and faction of his counsellors, by their not foreseeing what was evident to most other men, and by their jealousies of what was not like to fall out; sometimes by deliberating too long without resolving, and as often resolving without any deliberation, and most of all, not executing vigorously what was well deliberated and resolved; as by the indefatigable industry, and the irresistible power and strength of his enemies.

All these things must be very particularly enlarged upon, and exposed to the naked view, in the relation of what fell out in this year, 1645, in which we are engaged, except we will swerve from that precise rule of ingenuity and integrity we profess to observe; and thereby leave the reader more perplexed, to see the most prodigious accidents fall out, without discerning the no less prodigious causes which produced them; which would lead him into as wrong an estimate of things, and persuade him to believe, that a universal corruption of the hearts of the whole nation had brought forth those lamentable effects; which proceeded only from the folly and the frowardness, from the weakness and the wilfulness, the

pride and the passion of particular persons, whose memories ought to be charged with their own evil actions, rather than they should be preserved as the infamous charge of the age in which they lived; which did produce as many men eminent for their loyalty and incorrupted fidelity to the crown, as any that had preceded it. Nor is it possible to discourse of all these particulars, with that clearness that must subject them to common understandings, without opening a door for such reflections upon the king himself, as shall seem to call both his wisdom and his courage into question,[1] as if he had wanted the one to apprehend and discover, and the other to prevent, the mischiefs which threatened him. All which considerations might very well discourage, and even terrify me from prosecuting this part of the work with that freedom and openness, as must call many things to memory which are forgotten, or were never understood; and rather persuade me to satisfy myself with a bare relation of what was done, and and with the known event of that miserable year, (which, in truth, produced all that followed in the next,) without prying too strictly into the causes of those effects, which might seem rather to be the production of Providence, and the instances of divine displeasure, than to proceed from the weakness and inadvertency of any men, not totally abandoned[2] by God Almighty to the most unruly lusts of their own appetite and inventions.

But I am too far embarked in this sea already, and have proceeded with too much simplicity and sincerity with reference to things and persons, and in the examinations of the grounds and oversights of counsels, to be now frighted with the prospect of those materials, which must be comprehended within the relation of this year's transactions. I know myself to be very free from any of those passions which naturally transport men with prejudice towards the persons whom they are obliged to mention, and whose actions they are at liberty to censure. There is not a man who acted the worst

[1] This is fairly saying, and like an honest man, that the king wanted both; which was indeed the case throughout his whole reign, both in peace and war.—W.

[2] Now.—W.

part, in this ensuing year, with whom I had ever the least difference, or personal unkindness, or towards whom I had not much inclination of kindness, or from whom I did not receive all invitations of further endearments. There were many who were not free from very great faults and oversights in the counsels of this year, with whom I had great friendship, and which I did not discontinue upon those unhappy oversights; nor did flatter them when they were past, by excusing what they had done. I knew most of the things myself which I mention, and therefore can answer for the truth of them; and other most important particulars, which were transacted in places very distant from me, were transmitted to me, by the king's immediate direction and order, even after he was in the hands and power of the enemy, out of his own memorials and journals. And as he was always severe to himself, in censuring his own oversights, so he could not but well foresee, that many of the misfortunes of this ensuing year would reflect upon some want of resolution in himself, as well as upon the gross errors and oversights, to call them no worse, of those who were trusted by him. And therefore as I first undertook this difficult work with his approbation, and by his encouragement, and for his vindication,[1] so I enter upon this part of it, principally, that the world may see (at least if there be ever a fit season for such a communication; which is not like to be in this present age) how difficult it was for a prince, so unworthily reduced to those straits his majesty was in, to find ministers and instruments equal to the great work that was to be done; and how impossible it was for him to have better success under their conduct, whom it was then very proper for him to trust with it; and then, without my being over solicitous to absolve him from those mistakes and weaknesses to which he was in truth sometimes liable, he will be found not only a prince of admirable virtue

[1] This does not at all clash with what he had said in the foregoing page, concerning the *precise rule of integrity*, which he professes to observe. For though the end of history, in general, be for the information of posterity, yet the honest purposes of any particular historian may be the vindication of what he thinks to be an injured character.—W.

and piety, but of great parts of knowledge, wisdom, and judgment; and that the most signal parts of his misfortunes proceeded chiefly from the modesty of his nature, which kept him from trusting himself enough, and made him believe, that others discerned better, who were much inferior to him in those faculties; and so to depart often from his own reason, to follow the opinions of more unskilful men, whose affections he believed to be unquestionable to his service. And so we proceed in our relation of matter of fact.

What expectation soever there was, that the *self-denying ordinance*, after it had, upon so long deliberation, passed the house of commons, would have been rejected and cast out by the peers; whereby the earl of Essex would still have remained general; it did not take up so long debate there. The marquis of Argyle was now come from Scotland, and sat with the commissioners of that kingdom, over whom he had a great ascendant. He was, in matters of religion, and in relation to the church, purely presbyterian; but in matter of state, and with reference to the war, perfectly independent. He abhorred all thoughts of peace, and that the king should ever more have the government, towards whose person, notwithstanding the infinite obligations he had to him, he had always an inveterate malice. He had made a fast friendship with sir Harry Vane, during his late being in Scotland; and they both liked each other's principles in government. From the time of his coming to the town, the Scottish commissioners were less vehement in obstructing the ordinance, or the new modelling the army: so that after it came to the house of peers, though thereby the earl of Essex, the earl of Manchester, the earl of Warwick, and the earl of Denbigh, (whose power and authority, that is, the power, credit, and authority of the three first named, had absolutely governed and swayed that house from the beginning,) were to be dispossessed of their commands, and no peer of England capable of any employment either martial or civil; yet the ordinance found little opposition, and the old argument, "that the house of commons thought it necessary, and that it would be of mischievous consequence to dissent from the house of commons," so far prevailed, that

it passed the house of peers likewise; and there remained nothing to be done, but the earl of Essex's surrender of his commission into the hands of the parliament, from whom he had received it; which was thought necessary to be done with the same formality in which he had been invested with it. Fairfax was now named, and declared general, though the earl of Essex made not haste to surrender his commission; so that some men imagined, that he would yet have contested it: but he was not for such enterprises, and did really believe that the parliament would again have need of him, and his delay was only to be well advised, in all the circumstances of the formality. In the end it was agreed, that, at a conference of both houses in the painted chamber, he should deliver his commission; which he did. And because he had no very plausible faculty in the delivery of himself, he chose to do it in writing; which he delivered to them; in which he expressed, "with what affection and fidelity he had served them, and as he had often ventured his life for them, so he would willingly have lost it in their service; and since they believed, that what they had more to do would be better performed by another man, he submitted to their judgment, and restored their commission to them; hoping they would find an abler servant:" concluding with some expressions which made it manifest that he did not think he had been well used, or that they would be the better for the change: and so left them, and returned to his own house; whither both houses, the next day, went to attend him, and to return their thanks for the great service he had done the kingdom; which they acknowledged with all the encomiums and flattering attributes they could devise.

By this *self-denying ordinance*, together with the earl of Essex, the earl of Manchester, sir William Waller, the earl of Denbigh, major general Massy, lost their commands; as Cromwell should likewise have done. But as soon as the ordinance was passed, and before the resignation of the earl of Essex, the party that steered had caused him to be sent with a party of horse into the west, to relieve Taunton, that he might be absent at the time when the other officers delivered their commissions; which was quickly observed;

and thereupon orders were given, to require his present attendance in parliament, and that their new general should send some other officer to attend that service; which was pretended to be done; and the very day named, by which it was averred that he would be in the house. A rendezvous was then appointed, for their new general to take a view of their troops, that he might appoint officers to succeed those who had left their commands by virtue of the ordinance; and likewise in their places who gave up their commands, and refused to serve in the new model, who were a great number of their best commanders. From this rendezvous, the general sent to desire the parliament, "that they would give lieutenant general Cromwell leave to stay with him for some few days, for his better information, without which he should not be able to perform what they expected from him." The request being so reasonable, and for so short a time, little opposition was made to it: and shortly after, by another letter, he desired with very much earnestness, "that they would dispense with his service for that campaign." And so they compassed their whole design, in being rid of all those whose affections they knew were not agreeable to theirs, and keeping Cromwell in command; who, in the name of Fairfax, modelled the army, and placed such officers as were well known to him, and to nobody else; and absolutely governed the whole martial affairs; as was quickly known to all men; many particulars whereof will be mentioned at large hereafter.

Though the time spent in passing the *self-denying ordinance*, and afterwards in new modelling their army, had exceedingly retarded the preparations the enemy was to make, before they could take the field, whereby the king had more breathing time than he had reason to expect; yet all the hopes he had of recruits against that season, depended upon the activity of those to whose care the providing those recruits was committed: so that there will be little occasion to mention any thing that was done at Oxford, till the season of the year obliged his majesty to leave that place, and to march with his army into the field. And of all the action that was till that time, the west was the scene; where the

prince, as soon as he came to Bristol, found much more to do (and in which he could not avoid to meddle) than had been foreseen. One very great end of the prince's journey into the west, besides the other of more importance, which has been named before, was, that by his presence, direction, and authority, the many factions and animosities which were between particular persons of quality, and interest in those parts, and of equal affection to the king's service, (and yet which miserably infested and distracted it,) might be composed and reconciled; and that the endeavours of all men who wished well might be united in the advancing and carrying on that public service, in which all their joint happiness and security was concerned. This province, besides the prince's immediate countenance and interposition, required great diligence and dexterity in those about him, who were trusted in those affairs. But his highness found quickly another task incumbent on him than had been expected, and a mischief much more difficult to be mastered, and which, if unmastered, must inevitably produce much worse effects than the other could; which was, the ambition, emulation, and contest, which were between several officers of the army and parties, which were then in those parts, whereby their troops were without any discipline, and the country as much exposed to rapine and violence as it could suffer under an enemy, and in an article of time when a body of the enemy was every day expected. That this may be the better understood, it will be necessary in this first entrance upon this discourse, to set down truly the estate of the western counties, at the time when the prince first came to Bristol.*

* Jersey, 29th of June.—Being now left to leisure enough to recollect all the passages of this last ill year, and finding that they who have been only faulty, and been the principal authors of all the unhappy accidents, have, to redeem themselves from censure, taken all the crooked and indirect ways to lay aspersions upon the council of the prince, as if their unskilfulness, impetuosity, and activity, had produced those mischiefs; (which reports and reporters have found too much credit in France, and I hear with some at Oxford too;) and believing that this late schism in that council may give new opportunity to some, and leisure to others, to renew and contribute to those scandals, and prepare the understandings and affections of many for an unjust reception of such discourses, I have thought it worth my labour, for the satisfaction of those few who cannot be

The lord Goring had been sent by his majesty, before the time of the prince's coming into the west, with such a party

misled but by being misinformed, to set down this plain true narration of all material passages and accidents that have happened from the time of the prince's leaving Oxford, to the instant of his leaving Jersey; and without much interrupting the series of the discourse, continue so much of the relation as concerns sir Richard Greenvil entirely by itself, as likewise all the disputes, or rather private murmurings from the lord Goring against the council; and lastly, all the orders and considerations concerning the prince's transporting himself out of England: all which have made several impressions on the minds of men, and, according to their several affections, been applied to the disadvantage of those who attended his highness.

I need not remember the grounds and motives of those resolutions of sending the prince into the west, which was not any expectation or opinion of that association which they called "one and all;" for all men looked upon that device as a brain-sick imagination of a few persons, who were not easily weaned from any fancy they had once entertained, how extravagant soever. However, that design and the designers of it were to be managed in that manner as might best conduce to the public service, and to receive all possible countenance; as if the prince (who had been earnestly invited by them with great promises to that purpose) had no other thought but to encourage that association. But the principal end of his highness' designation for the west, (besides the great reason of state to remove him from being liable to the same dangers with his father, his majesty using to say, that he and his son were too great a prize to be ventured in one bottom; and, besides the other reason, to acquaint his highness with business, and, as the king would say, to unboy him,) was, that by his highness' presence, direction, and authority, the factions and animosities in the west, which miserably infested the king's service, might be composed and reconciled; those few places which were garrisoned in those parts be reduced, and such a regular orderly army raised and commanded by the lord Hopton, under his highness, whose lieutenant general he was by the king's special direction, and upon the earnest desire of the whole association, as might be applied with just advantage to the public service: and therefore his highness was armed with two commissions; of generalissimo over all England, and of general of the association; and instructed to apply both as occasions required.

They who were appointed by the king to attend his highness in this expedition as his council, and whose advice he was positively required and enjoined in all things to follow, were not strangers to the passion and impetuosity of prince Rupert, and to the great dislike he had expressed, and the opposition he had given to the whole design; and therefore expected all the ill offices and disadvantages he could put upon them or the business, when they were engaged in it; neither were they so ill courtiers as not to know that their absence from the king would leave them liable to any misrepresentations; but being commanded by him, (whom they had always obeyed,) and being very confident of his majesty's justice, and that it would not be in anybody's power

of horse, foot, and dragoons, and a train of artillery, as he desired, into Hampshire, upon a design of his own, of making an incursion into Sussex; where he pretended "he had correspondence; and that very many well affected persons promised to rise, and declare for the king, and that Kent would do the same." And so a commission was granted to him, of lieutenant general of Hampshire, Sussex, Surry, and Kent, without the least purpose or imagination that he should ever be near the prince. Some attempts he made, in the beginning, upon Christ-Church, in Hampshire, a little unfortified fishertown; yet was beaten off with loss: so that he was forced to retire to Salisbury; where his horse committed such horrid outrages[1] and barbarities as they had done in Hampshire, without distinction of friends or foes; so that those parts, which before were well devoted to the king, worried by oppression, wished for the access of any forces to redeem them. Whilst the lord Goring lay fruitlessly in those parts, a party of horse and dragoons, under the command of

to make alterations in the councils which had been upon great deliberation formed, they very cheerfully submitted to the task [which] was imposed upon them; and on Wednesday the fourth of March attended the prince from Oxford to Harrington, in his journey towards Bristol.

On Friday his highness came to Bath, where he resolved to stay three or four days, to the end that in that time both his accommodations might be ready for his reception at Bristol, and that the commissioners of the several counties might have notice of his presence in those parts; and to that purpose he wrote his letters to the high sheriff and commissioners of Somerset to attend him at Bristol the Wednesday following; and to the commissioners of the several counties to meet at Bristol about a fortnight after; which was as little notice as could reasonably be given; and in the mean time to proceed in the speedy levy of his guards, according to the proportions agreed upon; and to the lord Goring, sir Richard Greenvil, and the several governors of the western garrisons, to return an account to his highness of their several conditions, strengths, and provision, with a state of the enemy. And here it will be necessary to set down the state of the western counties at the time when his highness came into those parts.

[1] It is to be observed, that those court colonels, who had entered into a design before the war to bring up the northern army (raised against the Scots) to overawe the parliament, were the very officers, raised to high commands in the king's armies during the war, who did the king more mischief than all his enemies, by their villanous licence and debaucheries.—W.

Vandruske, a German, passed by him without interruption, to the relief of Taunton, which was blocked up by colonel Windham, and reduced to some straits; and accordingly removed those forces. About the same time, sir Walter Hastings, governor of Portland, seconded by sir Lewis Dives, (who had the command of Dorsetshire as colonel general,) had surprised Weymouth, and possessed the forts, and the upper town, the rebels having withdrawn themselves into the lower town, divided from the other by an arm of the sea, and of no considerable strength: so that the speedy reducing that small place was not looked upon as a matter of difficulty. However, lest those forces which had relieved Taunton, and were conceived to be much greater than in truth they were, should be able to disturb the work of Weymouth, and for the sooner expediting the business there, the lord Goring, who pretended that his friends in Sussex and Kent were not ready for him, was by order from Oxford, upon his own desire, sent thither; whereby it was thought, both the work of Weymouth and Taunton would be speedily effected. Thereupon the lord Hopton, who had naturally the command of those counties as field-marshal of the west, being sent down by the king to compose the disorders there, upon the relief of Taunton, was, by special order, recalled to Bristol, lest there might be dispute of command between him and the lord Goring; the one being general of the ordinance, the other general of the horse; but the lord Hopton was likewise field-marshal of the west,[1] in which the lord Goring had no commission to command.

Shortly after the lord Goring's arrival at Weymouth, with his full strength of horse, foot, and dragoons, and artillery, consisting of above three thousand horse, and fifteen hundred foot, besides what he found in those parts, that place of so vast importance was, by most supine negligence at best, retaken by that contemptible number of rebels, who had been beaten into the lower town, and who were looked upon as prisoners at mercy. The mysteries of which fatal loss were

[1] Intimating, that the king favoured this old abandoned courtier against the bravest and most virtuous general in his service.—W.

never inquired into; but with great plainness, by the vote of the country, imputed to general Goring's natural want of vigilance; who thereupon retired with his whole strength into Somersetshire. His highness, upon his arrival at Bristol, found the west in this condition; all Dorsetshire entirely possessed by the rebels, save only what sir Lewis Dives could protect by his small garrison at Sherborne, and the island of Portland, which could not provide for its own subsistence: the garrison of Taunton, with that party of horse and dragoons which relieved it, commanding a very large circuit, and disturbing other parts in Somersetshire: Devonshire intent upon the blocking up of Plymouth at one end, and open to incursions from Lyme, and prejudiced by Taunton, at the other end: the king's garrisons, in all three counties, being stronger in fortifications (which yet were not finished in any place, and but begun in some) than in men, or any provisions to endure an enemy: whilst the lord Goring's forces equally infested the borders of Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, by unheard of rapine, without applying themselves to any enterprise upon the rebels. Cornwall indeed was entire; but being wholly assigned to the blocking up of Plymouth, yielded no supply to any other service, or to the providing its own garrisons against the time that they might be visited by an enemy.

Sir William Waller and Cromwell marched together about this time towards the west, and making a cavalcade in Wiltshire, had routed and taken the whole regiment of horse of colonel Long, the high sheriff of that county, by his great defect of courage and conduct; and seemed furiously to intend an attempt upon general Goring; who was so much startled with the noise at a great distance, that he drew his forces so far west of Taunton, that Vandruske had an opportunity to retire, with that body of horse and dragoons with which he had relieved Taunton, to his fellows; whilst the king's forces reposed themselves towards Devonshire, the lord Goring himself, and most of his principal officers, taking that opportunity to refresh at Exeter, where they stayed three or four days in most scandalous disorder, a great part of his horse lying upon free quarter, and plunder-

ing to the gates of the city; which, being in the beginning of the year, was an ill presage to that people, what they were to expect. But finding that sir William Waller made not that haste he apprehended, and borrowing such horse and foot as he could procure from Exeter, he returned again towards Taunton, and gave his highness an account of his condition.

His highness, being attended at Bristol by the commissioners of Somerset, found no one thing provided, or one promise complied with, which had been made by them at Oxford: of his guards of horse and foot, which they assured him, for the proportion of that county, should be ready against his coming, not one man or horse provided: of the hundred pound a week, to be allowed by them towards his highness's support, not one penny ready, nor like to be. So that he was forced to borrow from the lord Hopton's own private store, to buy bread. And, which was worse than all this, we found plainly, that, what had been so particularly and positively undertaken at Oxford, was upon the confidence only of three or four men, who were governed by sir John Stawel and Mr. Fountain, without any concurrence from the rest of the commissioners of that, or the other three associated counties; and that they who had been so confident, instead of forming and pursuing any design for raising of men or money, were only busy in making objections, and preparing complaints, and pursuing their private quarrels and animosities against others. So they brought, every day, complaints against this and that governor of garrisons, for the riots and insolences of the lord Goring's soldiers, and, "that those parts of the county which were adjacent to Sherborne and Bridgewater were compelled to work at those fortifications;" and a world of such particulars, most of which, they well knew, in that conjuncture of time, could not be prevented; and many of which were in themselves very necessary. Yet the prince endeavoured to give them all encouragement; told them, "that he was very sensible of all those disorders of which they complained; and would redress them, as soon as they should discern it to be in his power; that the forces under the lord Goring were an army

by themselves, come down into those parts before his highness; and stayed then there for their protection against the power of Waller, (which was ready to invade them,) and the garrison of Taunton, which they confessed infested their whole county; that he was very desirous that army might move eastward, as soon as they should put themselves in such a posture, as might render them secure against their enemies; wished them to propose any expedients, how the fortifications of the garrisons might be finished, without some extraordinary help; or to propose the most convenient one; and he would join with them; and desired them to proceed in their levies of men and money, in the ways agreed on by themselves; and they should find all concurrence and assistance from him." But, notwithstanding all he could say or do, nothing was reasonably proposed or admitted by them, for the advancement of the public service.

By this time, towards the end of March, sir William Waller having advanced with his horse and dragoons by Bath towards Bristol, in hope, as hath been said before, to have surprised that city by some treachery within, and being disappointed there, retired towards Dorsetshire, and the edge of Somerset, adjoining to that county; where Cromwell expected him; the lord Goring having, in the mean while, fallen into some of Cromwell's quarters about Dorchester, and taken some prisoners and horses, and disordered the rest. Upon a dispute between themselves, or some other orders, Cromwell retired to join with sir Thomas Fairfax towards Reading; sir William Waller stayed in those parts, to intend the business of the west, but made no haste to advance, expecting some supplies of foot by sea at Weymouth. So that the lord Goring drew back to Bruton, and sent to the prince to desire, "that two of his council might meet him at Wells the next day, to consider what course was best to be taken:" accordingly the lords Capel and Colepepper, the next day, met his lordship at Wells. Where, after long consideration of the whole state of the west, and of the great importance of reducing Taunton, without which no great matter could be expected from Somersetshire, the lord Goring proposed, and put the design in writing under his own hand, for the whole

method and manner of his proceeding, " that he would leave the gross of his horse, and two hundred foot mounted, in such convenient place, upon the skirts of Dorsetshire and Wiltshire, as they might be able to retire to their body, if the enemy advanced powerfully ; and that he would himself, with all his foot and cannon, and such horse as were necessary, attempt the taking or burning of Taunton :" and to that purpose desired his highness, " to send positive orders to sir Richard Greenvil," (who, notwithstanding his highness's commands formerly sent to him, and some orders from the king himself, made not that haste as might reasonably be expected,) " to advance, and to direct the commissioners of Somerset to give their personal attendance upon that service ; and in the mean time to take care that sufficient magazines of victual and provisions were made for the soldiers :" all which was exactly performed by his highness, the next day after he received the desires of general Goring.

But within three or four days, and before the design upon Taunton was ready for execution, it appeared by the constant intelligence, that Waller was advancing with a great body of horse and dragoons, and some foot; and therefore the attempt upon Taunton was for the present to be laid aside; and the lord Goring very earnestly desired the prince to command sir Richard Greenvil, who was now drawn near to Taunton, with eight hundred horse, and above two thousand two hundred foot, besides pioneers, with all possible speed to march to him, that so he might be able to abide the enemy, if they came upon him ; or, otherwise, to compel them to fight, if they stayed in those fast quarters, where they then were ; which was about Shaftsbury, Gillingham, and those places. The prince accordingly sent his commands positively to sir Richard Greenvil, " to advance towards the lord Goring, and to obey all such orders as he should receive from his lordship." But he as positively sent his highness word, " that his men would not stir a foot ; and that he had promised the commissioners of Devon and Cornwall, that he would not advance beyond Taunton, till Taunton were reduced; but that he made no question, if he were not disturbed, speedily to give a good account of that place." In the mean time, the lord

Goring very gallantly and successfully, by night, fell upon sir William Waller's quarters twice in less than a week; and killed and took so good a number, that it was generally believed sir William Waller was lessened near a thousand men by those rencounters; the lord Goring still declaring, "that he could neither pursue his advantages upon a party, nor engage the main of the rebels, without the addition of Greenvil's foot;" and he, notwithstanding all orders, as peremptorily refusing to stir, but professing "that, if he had an addition of six hundred men, he would be in the town within six days."

Whilst things stood thus, sir William Waller, much weakened with these disasters, and the time of his command being near expired, drew back eastward; and was, by night marches, retired as far as Salisbury, before the lord Goring had notice of his motion. Whereupon his highness, upon consideration how impossible it was to overtake him, which general Goring himself confessed by his letters, or to engage the forces under the command of Greenvil, and the other forces of those parts, in any action, before the business of Taunton should be over, (which indeed disappointed all our hopes both of men and money in that great county,) and, on the other side, considering, if that place were reduced, (as sir Richard Greenvil undertook it should be in six days, and others, who had viewed it, thought it not a work of time,) besides the terror it would strike into their neighbours, there would be an army of four thousand horse, and five thousand foot, ready to be applied to any service they should be directed to, and that then the lord Goring might prosecute his commission in Sussex and Kent, with such a reasonable recruit of foot as should be necessary, and yet his highness enabled, in a short time, to be in the head of a very good army raised out of the four associated counties, either for the reducing the few other places which were garrisoned by the rebels, or to march towards his majesty: I say, upon these considerations, the prince (with the privity and advice of prince Rupert, who was then at Bristol, and present at the whole consultation, and the principal adviser in it) wrote, upon the eleventh of April, to the lord Goring, being then about Wells, "that his opinion was,

that the horse and dragoons under his lordship's command should advance from the quarters where they then were, much to the prejudice of that county, into Dorsetshire or Wiltshire, or into both of them; and that the foot and cannon should march directly towards Taunton, according to the design formerly proposed by his lordship; and referred it to himself, whether his lordship in person would stay with the horse, or go with the foot; and desired to receive his opinion and resolution upon the whole;" there being nothing proposed to be acted in two days. This letter was sent by colonel Windham, the governor of Bridgewater, who came that day, from Taunton, from sir Richard Greenvil; and could best inform him of the strength of the town, and the condition of sir Richard Greenvil's forces.

The next day colonel Windham returned with a short sullen letter from the lord Goring to the prince, "that he had, according to his command, sent the foot and cannon to Taunton, and the horse to the other places; and that, since there was now nothing for him to do, he was gone to Bath to intend his health:" where he complained privately, "that his forces were taken from him at a time when he meant to pursue Waller, and could utterly defeat him;" and much inveighed against the prince's council, for sending orders to him so prejudicial to the king's service: whereas it was only an opinion, and not orders, grounded upon what himself had formerly proposed, and to which he was desired to return his present judgment, being within half a day's journey of the prince, upon whom he ought to have attended in person, or have presented his advice to him, if what was then offered seemed not convenient. But, after some days frolickly spent at Bath, he returned to his former temper, and, waiting on the prince at Bristol, was contented to be told, "that he had been more apprehensive of discourtesies than he had cause;" and so all misunderstandings seemed to be fairly made up.

The lord Goring's foot and cannon being thus suddenly sent to Taunton, under the command of sir Joseph Wagstaffe; for the better preventing all mistakes and contests about command, the prince sent the lords Capel and Cole-

pepper to Taunton, to settle all disputes that might arise, and to dispose the county to assist that work in the best manner; which proved very fortunate; for the same day they came thither, sir Richard Greenvil, having brought his forces within musket-shot on one side of Taunton, went himself to view Wellington-house, five miles distant, in which the rebels had a garrison, and was, out of a window, shot in the thigh; with which he fell, the wound being then conceived to be mortal: so that there was no person who would pretend to command; those under Greenvil, having no experienced officer of reputation equal to that charge, yet being superior in number to the other, would not be commanded by sir Joseph Wagstaffe; so that if the lords had not very happily been present, it is probable, both those bodies of foot, each being too weak for the attempt by itself, would, if not disbanded, at best have retired to their former posts, and left those of Taunton at liberty to have done what they thought best. But they being there, and sir John Berkley being in that instant come thither to meet them, with an account of the state of Devonshire, they persuaded him to undertake the present charge of the whole, (all the officers of both bodies having formerly received orders from him,) and to prosecute the former design upon the town; all persons submitting till the prince's pleasure should be further known; those officers under sir Richard Greenvil presently sending away an express to Bristol, to desire the lord Hopton to take the command of them. But his lordship had no mind to enter upon any particular action with disjointed forces, till, upon the remove of the lord Goring, the whole command might be executed according to former establishment. And so a special direction was sent to all the officers and soldiers, to obey sir John Berkley, according to what had been formerly settled by the lords. He, in few days, put the business in very good order, and by storm took Wellington-house, where Greenvil had been hurt. I cannot omit here, that the lords, coming to visit Greenvil, in the instant that he was put into his litter, and carrying to Exeter, told him what they had thought necessary to be done in the point of command; the which he seeming very

well to approve, they desired him to call his officers, (most of the principal being there present,) and to command them to proceed in the work in hand cheerfully, under the command of sir John Berkley; the which he promised to do, and immediately said somewhat to his officers, at the side of his litter, which the lords conceived to be what he had promised: but it appeared after that it was not so; and, very probably, was the contrary; for neither officer nor soldier did his duty after he was gone, during the time sir John Berkley commanded in that action.

The prince finding the public service in no degree advanced by the commissioners of Somerset, and that though there was no progress made in the association affected, and undertaken by them, yet it served to cross and oppose all other attempts whatsoever; those who had no mind to do any thing, satisfying themselves with the visible impossibility of that design, and yet the other, who had first proposed it, thinking themselves engaged to consent to no alteration; and his highness being informed by Mr. Hinton, (sent by him, at his first coming to Bristol, to the two furthest western counties, to press the execution of whatsoever was promised in order to the association,) "that those two counties of Devon and Cornwall were entirely devoted to serve the prince, in what manner soever he should propose," he thought fit to summon the commissioners of all the associated counties, to attend upon him in some convenient place, where, upon full consideration, such conclusions might be made, as might best advance the work in hand, both for the reduction of Taunton, and raising a marching army; which counsel had been sooner given, and had in truth been fit to be put in practice upon his first coming to Bristol, when he discerned the flatness, peremptoriness, and unactivity of the gentlemen of Somerset; from whom it was evident nothing was to be expected, till, by the unanimity and strength of the two western counties, that county could be driven and compelled to do what was necessary, and to recede from their own sullen and positive determinations; which had been easy to do, but that shortly after his highness came to Bristol, upon what apprehensions no man knew, there was

great jealousy at Oxford of his going further west; and thereupon direction given, "that he should not remove from Bristol, but upon weighty reasons, and with which his majesty was to be first acquainted." Whereas, by his instructions, "he was to make his residence in such a place, as by the council should be thought most conducing to his affairs." However, such a meeting with all the commissioners being demonstrably necessary, and Bristol thought at too great a distance from the west, besides that the plague begun to break out there very much, for the time of the year, his highness resolved to go to Bridgewater for a few days, and to summon thither the commissioners, the rather to give some countenance to the business of Taunton, then closely besieged by sir John Berkley; and to that purpose directed his letters to the several commissioners to attend him there, on Wednesday the three and twentieth of April; the king being then at Oxford, preparing for the field, prince Rupert at Worcester, levying men, and the rebels at London in some disorder and confusion about their new model, having newly removed the earl of Essex, and earl of Manchester, earl of Denbigh, and sir William Waller, from any command, and substituted sir Thomas Fairfax general; who was, out of the other broken and almost dissolved forces, to mould an army, which was then in no very hopeful forwardness.

Upon the day, the prince came to Bridgewater; and was attended by a great body of the commissioners of Somerset, that place being near the centre of that great county; there appeared for Dorsetshire, as sent from the rest, sir John Strangeways, Mr. Anchetil Grey, and Mr. Ryves; for Devonshire, sir Peter Ball, sir George Parry, Mr. Saint Hill, and Mr. Muddyford; and for Cornwall, sir Henry Killegrew, Mr. Coriton, Mr. Scawen, and Mr. Roscorroth. The whole body waited on the prince the next morning; and were then told, "that his coming thither was to receive their advice, and to give his assistance in what might concern the peace and welfare of each particular county, and might best advance the general service of the king; that if the association which had been proposed, seemed to them, by the accidents and mutations which had happened since

the time of that first proposal," (as in truth very notable ones had happened,) "not fit now to be further prosecuted, he was ready to consent to any alteration they should propose, and to join with them in any other expedient; and wished them therefore to confer together, what was best to be done; and when they were ready to propose any thing to him, he would be ready to receive it." After two or three days' consultation amongst themselves, they were unanimously of opinion, (except sir John Stawel, who, against all the rest, and against all that could be said to him, continued positive for the general rising of one and all, and for that alone,) "that that design was for the present to be laid aside; and that, instead thereof, those counties, according to their several known proportions, would in a very short time" (as I remember a month was the utmost) "raise and arm six thousand foot, besides the prince's guards, which would be full two thousand more; not reckoning those of the lord Goring's, which were fifteen hundred, but including the foot of sir John Berkley and sir Richard Greenvil, then before Taunton;" which all men concluded would be reduced in less than a month. This proposition being approved by the prince, all particulars were agreed upon: the several days for the rendezvous of the new levies, and the officers to whom the men were to be delivered, named; and warrants issued out accordingly: all things requisite for the speedy reduction of Taunton ordered and directed; so that, in order to the taking that place, and the raising an army speedily, all things stood so fair, that more could not be wished.

As this journey to Bridgewater wrought this good effect, so it produced one notable inconvenience, and discovered another. The prince, having before his coming from Oxford been very little conversant with business, had been persuaded, from his coming out, to sit frequently, if not constantly, in council, to mark and consider the state of affairs, and to accustom himself to a habit of speaking and judging upon what was said; to the which he had with great ingenuity applied himself: but coming to Bridgewater, and having an extraordinary kindness for Mrs. Windham, who had been his

nurse, he was not only diverted by her folly and petulancy from applying himself to the serious consideration of his business, but accustomed to hear her speak negligently and scornfully of the council; which, though it made no impression in him of disrespect towards them, encouraged other people who heard it, to the like liberty; and from thence grew an irreverence towards them; which reflected upon himself, and served to bring prejudice to their counsels throughout the whole course. She had besides many private designs of benefit and advantage to herself and her children, besides the qualifying her husband to do all acts of power without control upon his neighbours, and laboured to procure grants or promises of reversions of lands from the prince; and finding that the prince was not to transact any such thing without the advice of the council, and that they were not like to comply in those enterprises, she laboured to raise jealousies and dislikes between them, and kindled such a faction in the prince's family, as produced many inconveniences. For from hence sir Charles Berkley, who had a promise to be made controller of the prince's household, and Mr. Long, who had the like promise to be his secretary, when he should be created prince of Wales, (till which time those officers were never made,) began to think they had injury done them, that they were not presently of the prince's council, to which the places they were to have gave them title; though they knew well, that the lords who then attended upon the prince, were of the king's privy council, and in that capacity only, waited upon his highness; and that the other were only of the prince's own council for his revenue, and for the administration of the duchy of Cornwall, for which his highness had now his livery.

However, these fancies, thus weakly grounded and entertained, made such an impression upon those persons, that they united themselves into a faction, and prevailed over the weakness of the earl of Berkshire to join with them; and, by degrees, all of them joined with all discontented persons, to render the council to be much neglected and undervalued. Lastly, she being a woman of great rudeness, and of a country pride, *Nihil muliebre præter corpus gerens*, va-

lued herself much upon the power and familiarity which her neighbours might see she had with the prince of Wales; and therefore, upon all occasions, in company, and when the concourse of the people was greatest, would use great boldness towards him; and, which was worse than all this, she affected in all companies, where she let herself out to any freedom, a very negligent and disdainful mention of the person of the king;[1] the knowledge of which humour of her's, was one reason that made his majesty unwilling his son should go further west than Bristol; since he knew Bridgewater must be a stage in that motion. And this her ill disposition was no sooner known to the lords, who were all absolute strangers to her before, than they took care that his highness should make no longer residence in that garrison.

The other inconvenience that it discovered, was the design of the lord Goring to have the command of the west. For then it grew very apparent, that, whatever had been pretended for Kent or Sussex, he had, from the beginning, affected that charge; and, I fear, had some other encouragement for it, than was then avowed. And therefore, from his first coming into those parts, he had with great industry caressed the commissioners of Somerset and Devon, and especially those whom he thought any way inclined against the lord Hopton; whom, by all ill arts, he endeavoured to undervalue; inveighing against "the too great contribution, assigned to the garrison of Bristol; and that any should be allowed to the unnecessary garrison (as he called it) at Lamport;" which had been lately settled by the lord Hopton; and, as appeared afterwards, was of vast importance: those discourses being most popular to the country, though most pernicious to the king: and promised "great strictness and severity of discipline, if that power under the prince might be devolved to him." To Bridgewater he came at the same time from Bath, upon pretence of "visiting Taunton, and seeing whether the work were like to be soon done, that it might be worth the intending it;" but, in truth, to drive on his project for command with the commissioners; who were

[1] As governed by this wife.—W.

invited by sir Peter Ball to make it one of their propositions to the prince, "that the lord Goring might be constituted his lieutenant general;" which he himself had so absolutely digested, that, as if the matter itself had been out of question, he proposed privately to most of the prince's council, the rules that should be observed between them in the government of the army, and the administration of the civil part. Some, of no extraordinary kindness to Goring, wished the agreement made, and him settled in the command, as the best, if not the only expedient, for advancement of the king's service, and for the speedy forming an army worthy of the prince's own person in the head of it; apprehending, that the dividing his forces from the new levies would leave a good body of foot without an equal power of horse, and without a train, except a longer time were given for the making it, than the state of affairs promised to permit. But when Goring discovered by his discourse with several of the council, (with whom he communicated upon the argument very freely, and expressed in plain English, "that except he might be satisfied in the particulars he proposed, he should have no heart to proceed in the public service,") that they would not consent to any act that might reflect upon the lord Hopton; and that some of them had such a prejudice to his person, that they would make no conjunction with him, he resolved to compass his ends some other way; and so pressed it no further in any public address to the prince at that time. It is not to be omitted, that he was then offered, and assured, "that, as soon as the business of Taunton should be over, he should have such a recruit out of the new levies, as would make up his own foot three thousand men, besides officers;" with which he might well prosecute his former design; and, in the mean time, he had the absolute command; the lord Hopton not at all interposing, or meddling with the army. Besides that this proposition of the lord Goring clearly altered the whole frame of every design laid at Oxford, and tending to the visible dishonour of the lord Hopton, whom the prince was obliged by all obligations of honour and justice to preserve from such an affront, I cannot dissemble myself to have contracted so steady a resolution, upon the former passages of

lord Goring's life, and the observation of his nature, not to mingle with him in any action or council of trust and importance, (though truly his particular deportment to me was not only full of civilities, but of extreme endearment; and his conversation, with reference to my own humour and appetite, full of pleasure and delight,) that if I could have imagined the least purpose of joining him to us, when we came from Oxford, I should rather have submitted to any censure his majesty would have imposed on me, than undertaken the other trust. When we returned from the treaty at Uxbridge, he was newly departed the town towards Salisbury, (some disputes with prince Rupert having brought him thither, and continued him there some days,) and had met, three or four miles from the town, colonel Ashburnham, to whom he very freely expressed his discontents, with very contemptuous expressions and language of the king and queen; said that his father was used with great injustice and barbarism in France, and disgraced by the queen and her ministers; that he was only courted here for his interest in the soldier, and because the king could not be without him; but swore, that as soon as he had put himself into such a posture as he doubted not he should be shortly in, he would make them do his father and himself justice, or they should repent it: all which col. Ashburnham informed me and many others before we left Oxford.

When we came to Bristol, my lady Dalkeith sent me word by Ball Apsley, that Goring, being then at Exeter with many of his chief officers, in most notorious, scandalous disorder, lieutenant general Porter came to her, and, inveighing much against lord Goring, told her that he would at some time or other betray the king, and that he had a design to be lieutenant general to the prince, (which was the first hint I had, or I believe any in our company, that he affected that charge;) but that, if ever he had the prince in his power, he would give him up to the rebels. These animadversions, with the licence that he always took to himself, both in words and actions, and gave to his soldiers, who exercised all disorders, in contempt of all religion and government, made me very unwilling that the prince should either ven-

ture his person with such a person, or his hope and innocency with such an army, which I could not imagine God could prosper in any thing they undertook, or make them the instruments of any happiness to the king or kingdom; and confirmed me in the resolution of preserving myself from acting any part with him. It is true that, at the same time, lord Goring inveighed as much to the lady Dalkeith against Porter for cowardice and treachery, and writ then to me by Ball Apsley to move the prince to send some officer (whereupon the lord Wentworth was sent) to command the horse, because he could not trust his brother Porter, either in conduct or courage; and told me afterwards, that he suspected him for correspondence with the enemy, not only because his wife lived amongst them, but because he knew he had often writ and sent to the enemy without giving him notice of it.

It was now concluded by all men who had well considered his carriage and behaviour from his first coming into the west, that, as he had formed that design in his own thoughts from the first, of being about the prince, and resolved never to march with the army under prince Rupert, (whose nature was not agreeable to him,) so that he had purposely and willingly suffered Vandruske to relieve Taunton, and even Weymouth to be again recovered by that handful of men who had been beaten out of it, lest the business of the west might be done without him, or by other men; and that his presence there might not be thought necessary. For if Taunton had been reduced, as it must have been if that small party had not relieved it even in the last article, he could have had no pretence to have stayed in those parts, but must immediately have pursued his former design upon Sussex, and those other counties, for which he had never any reasonable foundation; or have continued his march to the king; which he had less mind to do. And when he first left Oxford, and went into Hampshire, which was before the end of the treaty at Uxbridge, he had, in his jovial fits, when he was always very unreserved, declared, with great resentment, "that his father was ill treated by the queen in France, and that he hoped shortly to find himself in such a

posture, that the king should find it reasonable to use both his father and himself better." And yet the king had even then, upon his suit, made his father captain of his guard of halberteers, and created him earl of Norwich, whereby himself had the appellation of lord, which he enough affected: and in his first debauches at Exeter, his brother Porter, who was lieutenant general of his horse, informed some persons of honour in confidence, "that Goring resolved to make himself lieutenant general to the prince, or else to be very discontented." This advertisement was sent to some of the council, upon his highness's first coming to Bristol; and was the first hint that ever they received, that he had affected that charge; and was not, with the rest of his behaviour, like to dispose them to wish that he might obtain his desire; but to do all that was in their power to prevent it.

The general business concerning the four counties being agreed and settled at Bridgewater, the commissioners for Devon desired to be heard in what concerned that particular county; and then informed his highness, "that, upon sir Richard Greenvil's first entering upon the work of Plymouth, and his assurance that he would take the town before Christmas-day, [which undertaking I myself saw under his hand,] and that he would forthwith raise, arm, and pay twelve hundred horse, and six thousand foot, they had assigned him above one half of their whole contribution, amounting to above eleven hundred pounds a week; and, for the providing arms and ammunition, had assigned him the arrears of the contribution due from those hundreds allotted to him; which amounted to near 6000*l.*; he having likewise the whole contribution of Cornwall, being above seven hundred pounds weekly; and had received most part of the letter and subscription money of that county towards the same service: that he had, from his first entering upon the charge, quietly enjoyed those contributions in Devon, which were duly paid; and had received the greatest part of the arrears assigned to him for the provision of arms and ammunition: notwithstanding all which, he had never bought above twenty barrels of powder, or any arms, but had received both the one and the other from them, out of their magazines;

and had never maintained or raised near half the number of men to which he was obliged, till the week before he was required to march to Taunton; when he had called the *posse comitatus*, and thence forced almost the whole number of foot, which marched with him thither, bringing them with him, as far as Exeter, unarmed; and there compelled the commissioners to supply him with arms and ammunition; that having left not two thousand foot and four hundred horse before Plymouth, he continued still to receive the whole contribution formerly assigned when he was to have twelve hundred horse and six thousand foot; and would not part with any of it: so that he received more out of Devonshire for the blocking up of Plymouth, (having all Cornwall to himself likewise,) than was left for the garrisons of Exeter, Dartmouth, Barnstable, and Tiverton, and for the finishing those fortifications, victualling the garrisons, providing arms and ammunition; with which they had before not only supplied themselves, but had sent great quantities to the king's army, to the lord Goring, and to the siege of Taunton: that he would not suffer them to send any warrants to collect the letter and subscription money, to settle the excise, or meddle with delinquents' estates in the hundreds assigned to him for contribution; and had those continual contests with sir John Berkley, being colonel general of the county, and the other governors of garrisons; pretending that he had power to command them; that there was such an animosity grown between them, that they very much apprehended the danger of those divisions; there having been some blood shed, and men killed, upon their private contests:" and therefore besought his highness, "by his authority, to settle the limits of their several jurisdictions, in order to the martial affairs; and likewise to order sir Richard Greenvil to receive no more contribution, than would suffice for the maintenance of those men who continued before Plymouth; whereby they could be only enabled to perform their parts of the association."

This was pressed with so much earnestness and reason, that it was thought very advisable for his highness himself to go to Exeter, where both the commissioners and sir

Richard Greenvil were ; and there, upon the hearing of all that could be said, to settle the whole dispute. But at the same time, and whilst that matter was in consideration, letters came from his majesty to his highness and the lords, expressly inhibiting his going further westward ; upon what reasons I cannot imagine ; and thereupon the prince himself returned to Bristol on Wednesday the thirtieth of April, having stayed at Bridgewater only seven days; and sent the lords Capel and Colepepper, and the chancellor of the exchequer, to Exeter, with instructions "to examine all the complaints and allegations of the commissioners, and to settle the business of the contribution ; and upon view of the several commissions of sir John Berkley and sir Richard Greenvil, so to agree the matter of jurisdiction, that the public service might not be obstructed." And from hence I shall continue this discourse throughout all the agitations concerning sir Richard Greenvil to the time of his commitment ; in which himself hath taken great pains to have it thought, he had very hard measure, and that thereby his majesty's service much suffered in the west.

As soon as the lords appointed by his highness to go to Exeter came thither, they went the same hour to visit sir Richard Greenvil, who was still bedrid of his hurt. They intended it only as a visit, and so would not reply, at that time, to many very sharp and bitter complaints and invectives he made against sir John Berkley, (who was then at the leaguer before Taunton,) but told him, "that they would come to him again the next day, and consider of all businesses." Accordingly they came, when, with great bitterness, he again complained of the governor, and some disrespects from his lieutenant governor: but when he was pressed to particulars, he mentioned principally some high and disdainful speeches, the most of which were denied by the other, and the withholding some prisoners from him, which he had sent his marshal for near Taunton. The truth of which was this ; whilst sir Richard was before Taunton, he had sent for one Mr. Syms, a justice of peace of the county, a rich and decrepit man, who lived within three miles of that town. He charged him with some inclinations to the

rebels, and of favouring their proceedings. The gentleman stood upon his justification and innocency, and desired to be put upon any trial. However, sir Richard told him, "he was a traitor, and should redeem himself at a thousand pounds, or else he would proceed in another way;" and gave him three days to provide the money. Before the time expired, sir Richard was hurt, and carried to Exeter; whither he no sooner came, but he despatched his marshal to fetch Mr. Syms to him; who appealed to sir John Berkley, (who had then the command,) and desired to be put upon any trial; and (besides that he was of a very infirm body, and unfit for travel) many gentlemen of the best quality gave him a very good testimony, and undertook for his appearance, whenever he should be called upon. Upon this sir John Berkley discharged the marshal, and writ a very civil letter to sir Richard Greenvil, of the whole matter; "and that he would see the gentleman forth coming upon the least warning; but that it would be an act of great cruelty, to carry him a prisoner, in that indisposition of health, from his house." Sir Richard looked upon this as the robbing him of a thousand pounds, and writ such a letter to sir John Berkley, so full of ill language and reproach, as I have never seen the like from and to a gentleman; and complained to us of the injury. We told him, "that neither he, nor sir John Berkley, had any authority to meddle with Mr. Syms, or any persons of that quality; who could not be looked upon as prisoners of war; but if in truth he should prove to be a delinquent, and guilty of those crimes objected against him, his fine and composition was due to the king, who had assigned the same to the prince for the public service; and that there were commissioners, before whom he was regularly to be tried, and with whom he might only compound." He would not understand the reason of this, but insisted upon "sir John Berkley's protecting Syms, as a great indignity to himself." On the other hand, sir John Berkley complained by his letters, "that those soldiers brought to Taunton by Greenvil every day mouldered away, and he had reason to believe it was by his direction; for that those that stayed, and the officers, were very backward in performing

their duties; and that, after the taking of Wellington-house, he had commanded that nothing should be done towards the defacing it, because it might possibly be fit to put a garrison into it, if the siege should be raised from Taunton; but that the officer, who was under Greenvil, had, notwithstanding such command, burned it: that he proceeded in the levying monies, and sending out extravagant warrants throughout the county;" and many other particulars.

Sir Richard Greenvil denied, "that the soldiers left the leaguer, or that Wellington-house was burned by any direction of his;" though it appeared, that all such soldiers as left their colours and came to him, were kindly used, and had money given to them by him; and that lieutenant colonel Robinson, after he had received orders from sir John Berkley not to slight Wellington-house, rode to Exeter to sir Richard Greenvil, and immediately, upon his return from him, caused it to be burnt. Greenvil said, "that he levied no monies, nor issued out any warrants, but what he had authority to do by his commission." In the end they shewed him their instructions from the prince, "thoroughly to examine all differences between them; and, upon view of both their commissions, to agree what limits each of them should observe." Thereupon he shewed them his commission in paper, under his majesty's sign-manual, attested by the lord Digby, by which he was authorized "to command the forces before Plymouth;" and in order thereunto, with such clauses of latitude and power, as he might both raise the *posse*, and command the trained bands, and indeed the whole forces of both counties; and was to receive orders from his majesty, and his lieutenant general; and was likewise at that time high sheriff of Devon. Sir John Berkley's commission was precedent, and more formal, being under the great seal of England, "of colonel general of the counties of Devon and Cornwall, and to command the whole forces of both counties, as well trained bands as others;" so that, though their commissions were not in intention all one, yet they included clauses and powers so much the same, that either of them had authority enough to disturb the other; and he that only saw his own, might reasonably think he had power over the

other: which, between persons so disinclined one to the other as they were grown to be, might have proved very fatal, if the remedy had not been so near by his highness's authority.

After the perusal of their commissions, they shewed him their instructions, concerning the regulating the contributions, in proportionable assignments for the several services; and desired his opinion, "what forces were now necessary for the blocking up of Plymouth, since any attempt for the taking it was to be laid aside, at least for a time? And that thereupon, such assignation might be made to that purpose, as was sufficient, and the rest otherwise disposed of." He told them, "that the forces then there (being about fifteen hundred foot and four hundred horse, of the Devonshire side) were sufficient;" and proposed allowance little enough for the service; and then said, "that it troubled him to be confined to such an employment, as the blocking up a place, whilst there was like to be so much action in the field; and therefore he hoped his highness would give him leave to wait on him in the army; where he thought he might do him much better service." They told him, "they had authority from the prince," (for some of his friends had mentioned the same, soon after he had received his wound,) "if they found his health able to bear it, and his inclination led him that way, to let him know, that his highness would be glad of his service, in the moulding that army which was then raising; which, allowing two thousand foot to the recruiting the lord Goring, would be in view six thousand foot, and above two thousand horse with the guards; in which he had designed him the second place of command." But then, they said, "they knew not where to place the command of Plymouth." Sir Richard very cheerfully received the proposition for himself in the army; and for Plymouth, he said, "no man was fit to undertake the work there, but sir John Berkley, who had the command of both counties: that it was visible by the differences and breaches that had been between them, how inconvenient it would be to have that charge independent; whereas, if it were in one hand, the unanimous consent of both

counties, and all the forces in them, would more easily do the business."

All things being thus agreed upon, as far as they could be without sir John Berkley's consent, who was then before Taunton; the lords resolved to return to the prince, and in their way to dispose sir John Berkley to what had been proposed; and left the chancellor of the exchequer at Exeter, to agree with the commissioners upon the settlement of the contributions, and to settle some other particulars which they had resolved upon. The whole contribution of the county of Devon amounted to two thousand pound weekly; whereof so many hundreds were assigned by the commissioners, for the maintenance of the forces before Plymouth, as amounted to the just proportion and establishment proposed by sir Richard Greenvil himself; and then so many to the garrisons of Exeter, Dartmouth, Barnstable, and Tiverton, as amounted to the payment of such forces, as, on all hands, were agreed to be absolutely necessary for their defence, at the lowest establishment. All which being done, upon supposition that the whole contribution, being two thousand pound weekly, would be, according to the assignments, exactly paid, there remained not a penny overplus, for the buying ammunition and arms, for the finishing fortifications, for victualling the garrisons, or for blocking up of Lyme; which if it were not done, all that part of the country would be liable to that pressure; and so, unable to pay contribution where it was assigned. But it was supposed, the last might be done by drawing out some numbers from the several garrisons, if there were no disturbance from abroad; and the rest must be supplied out of the excise, (the major part whereof was by the king assigned for the support of the princess,) and some other extraordinary ways to be thought of: the latter money and subscription money being almost exhausted.

His highness was no sooner returned to Bristol from Bridgewater, which was on the last day of April, than general Goring was sent for by the king, to draw his horse and dragoons towards Oxford; that thereby his majesty might free himself from Cromwell; who, with a very strong party of horse and dragoons, lay in wait, to interrupt his joining with prince Ru-

pert about Worcester. How unwelcome soever these orders were to the lord Goring, yet there was no remedy but he must obey them: and it was now hoped, that the west should be hereafter freed from him, where he was at that time very ungracious. He marched with that expedition towards the king, who was then at Woodstock, that he fell upon a horse quarter of Cromwell's, and another party of Fairfax's horse, as they were attempting a passage over the river of Isis, so prosperously, (the very evening before he came to the king,) that he broke and defeated them with a great slaughter, which gave him great reputation, and made him exceedingly welcome: and it was indeed a very seasonable action, to discountenance and break such a party, in the infancy of their new model; and did break their present measures, and made Fairfax to appoint a new place of rendezvous for his new army, at a greater distance from the king's forces.

Prince Rupert, who now met with very little opposition in council, had, throughout the winter, disposed the king to resolve "to march northwards, and to fall upon the Scottish army in Yorkshire, before Fairfax should be able to perfect his new model to that degree, as to take the field." This design was not unreasonable; nor the prince to blame for desiring to take revenge on them who had offended him so terribly the last year; which, now they were separated from the English, who had indeed defeated him, he believed was easy to be done. That purpose of marching northward was now the more hastened, that, in the way, Chester might be relieved; which was closely besieged; and then they might come soon enough to Pontefract-castle, before which the Scottish army then was; and if they could defeat that, the king would be again, upon the matter, master of the north: which, by the insolence of the Scots, and the dislike they had of the new model, was conceived to be better affected than ever. The next day after Goring came to the king, the army was drawn to a rendezvous, and consisted then of five thousand foot, and above six thousand horse; an army not to be reasonably lessened in the beginning of a campaign, when the king was to expect he should have so much to do; and if it

had been kept together, it is very probable that the summer might have been crowned with better success.

Fairfax was then about Newbury, not in readiness to march; yet reported to be much more unready than he was. And that his design was to carry his whole army to the relief of Taunton, which was brought almost to extremity; which if he could bring to pass, would give him great reputation, and would make the parliament near sharers with the king in the interest of the west. Upon this prospect, it was thought reasonable, and accordingly proposed "that the king himself would march with his army into the west; and thereby, not only prevent the relief of Taunton, but compel Fairfax to fight, before he should be able to join with Cromwell; who had not yet gathered his troops together." This was the concurrent advice of the whole council with which the king used to advise, prince Rupert only excepted, and sir Marmaduke Langdale, who commanded the northern horse; which were impatient to be in their own country. Now the very contrary affections towards each other, between prince Rupert and the lord Goring, began to co-operate to one and the same end. The prince found that Goring, as a man of a ready wit, and an excellent speaker, was like to have most credit with the king in all debates; and was jealous, that, by his friendship with the lord Digby, he would quickly get such an interest with his majesty, that his own credit would be much eclipsed. Hereupon, he did no less desire that Goring should return again into the west,[1] than Goring did, not to remain where prince Rupert commanded. This produced a great confidence and friendship between them, and the prince told him all that any of the council had spoken freely to him, when his highness abhorred nothing more than that Goring should be near the prince of Wales; and Goring said all of the council, which he believed would most irreconcile him to them. So they both agreed to do all they could, to lessen the credit and authority of the council. The king was desired to receive the information and state of the west from

[1] This single intrigue ruined the king irretrievably, by dividing this small army.—W.

Goring; who, upon the late good fortune he had, and by the artifices of the lord Digby, was too easily believed. He informed the king with all imaginable confidence, "that if, by the positive command of the prince, contrary to his opinion and advice, his forces had not been taken from him, and applied to the siege of Taunton, he had doubtless totally ruined all Waller's forces, and prevented the coming of those parties who had given his majesty so much trouble at Oxford: that he had been always used, upon his resort to the prince, with great disrespect, being not called into the council, but put to an attendance without, amongst inferior suitors;" and then told many particular passages at Bridgewater, of which he raised advantage to himself, upon the prejudice he begot to others.

Whereas the truth of the design upon Taunton is before set down, with all the circumstances; and Waller was marched beyond Salisbury, before the lord Goring knew where he was; and confessed, there was no overtaking him; and he had always received as much respect from the prince and council, as could be given to a subject; being constantly called, and admitted to council when he was present; and when absent, opinions and advices sent to him from the council, upon such particulars as himself proposed, with a full reference to his discretion, to do, upon the place, as he judged most meet: yet, I say, he got so much credit, that the king, by his letter of the tenth of May to the prince, directed, "that general Goring should be admitted into all consultations and debates, and advised withal, as if he were one of the established council; that prince Rupert having granted him power to give commissions in that army, all commissions to be granted should pass by general Goring; and that none should be granted by the prince, in his own name, otherwise than in such cases as were of relation merely to the association: that the council should contribute their opinions and advices to general Goring, but that his highness should carefully forbear to give unto the lord Goring any positive or binding orders;" whereas, by his instructions, when he came from Oxford, he was to put both his commissions, of generalissimo, and of general of the association, in execution, as he found most convenient; his

majesty himself then entertaining very little hope of the association, as it was proposed; and therefore, by his letters to the prince of the twentieth of April, which came to him at Bridgewater, all the assignations formerly made towards the association, were directed to be disposed, and converted to such uses, as by the advice of his council should be found most advantageous to the service of those parts; and thereupon the levies were consented to, and directed as is before mentioned. With these triumphant orders, the lord Goring returned into the west; where we shall now leave him, and wait upon his majesty, in his unfortunate march, until we find cause enough to lament that counsel, which so fatally dismissed him, and his forces, at a time, in which, if he were born to serve his country,[1] his presence might have been of great use and benefit to the king; which it was never after in any occasion.

When Goring was thus separated from the king's army, his majesty marched to Evesham; and in his way, drew out his garrison from Cambden-house; which had brought no other benefit to the public, than the enriching the licentious governor thereof;[2] who exercised an illimited tyranny over the whole country, and took his leave of it, in wantonly burning the noble structure,[3] where he had too long inhabited, and which, not many years before, had cost above thirty thousand pounds the building. Within few days after the king left Evesham, it was surprised by the enemy, or rather stormed and taken for want of men to defend the works; and the governor and all the little garrison made prisoners. The loss of this place was an ill omen to the succeeding summer; and, upon the matter, cut off all the intercourse between Worcester and Oxford; nor was it at all repaired by the taking of Hawkesly-house in Worcestershire; which the rebels had fortified, and made strong, and which the king's army took in two days, and there-

[1] Indeed he always carried a fatality along with him to the disservice of the king.—W.

[2] Sir H. Bard.—W.

[3] Walker says it was burned by prince Rupert's command, which is by much the most likely.—W.

in the governor, and one hundred and twenty prisoners; who served to redeem those who were lost in Evesham. And so, by easy and slow marches, they prosecuted their way towards Chester. But, in Staffordshire, the lord Byron, who was governor of Chester, met the king; and informed him, "that the rebels, upon the noise of his majesty's advance, were drawn off;" and so there was no more to be done, but to prosecute the northern design; which was now intended, and the army upon its march accordingly, when intelligence was brought, "that Fairfax had sent a strong party to relieve Taunton, and was himself, with his army, sat down before Oxford." This could not but make some alteration, at least a pause in the execution of the former counsels: and yet Oxford was known to be in so good a condition, that the loss of it could not in any degree be apprehended, and nothing could more reasonably have been wished, than that Fairfax should be thoroughly engaged before it: and it was concluded, "that the best way to draw him from thence, would be to fall upon some place possessed by the parliament."

And they had no considerable town so near the place where the king then was, as Leicester; in which there was a good garrison, under the command of sir Robert Pye; and prince Rupert, who was always well pleased with any brisk attempt, cheerfully entertained the first motion, and sent sir Marmaduke Langdale forthwith to surround it (which was of great extent) with his horse; and the next day, being the last of May, the whole army was drawn about the town, and the prince, having taken a view of it, commanded a battery to be forthwith raised against an old high stone wall, on the south side of the town; which, by his own continued presence, was finished with admirable diligence: which done, he sent a summons to the governor; who returned not such an answer as was required. Thereupon, the battery began to play; and, in the space of four hours, made such a breach, that it was thought counsellable, the same night to make a general assault with the whole army, in several places; but principally at the breach; which was defended with great courage and resolution; insomuch, that the king's forces were twice repulsed with great loss and slaughter; and were

even ready to draw off in despair: when another party, on the other side of the town, under the command of colonel Page, seconded by a body of horse that came but that day from Newark, and, putting themselves on foot, advanced, with their swords and pistols, with the other, entered the town; and made way for their fellows to follow them: so that, by the break of day, the assault having continued all the night, all the king's army entered the line. Then the governor, and all the officers and soldiers, to the number of twelve hundred, threw down their arms, and became prisoners of war: whilst the conquerors pursued their advantage, with the usual licence of rapine and plunder, and miserably sacked the whole town, without any distinction of persons or places; churches and hospitals, as well as other houses, were made a prey to the enraged and greedy soldier, to the exceeding regret of the king; who well knew, that, how disaffected soever that town was generally, there were yet many who had faithful hearts to him, and who he heartily wished might be distinguished from the rest: but those seasons admit no difference of persons. Though the place was well gotten, because so little time had been spent in the getting it, yet it was not without very considerable loss on the king's side; there being near two hundred soldiers dead upon the places of assault, with many officers; colonel Saint George, and others of name; besides many more wounded and maimed. The king presently made the lord Loughborough, a younger son of the earl of Huntington, and one who had served him eminently from the beginning of the war, governor of Leicester; and sir Matthew Appleyard, a soldier of known courage and experience, his lieutenant governor.

The taking of Leicester, the chief town of that province, even as soon as he came before it, and in that manner, purely by an act of great courage, gave the king's army great reputation, and made a wonderful impression of terror upon the hearts of those at Westminster; who now revolved the conditions which were offered at Uxbridge; and which they had refused. They began to curse their new model; and to reproach those who had persuaded them "so ingrate-

fully to throw off their old general, who was ready to foment all their discontents. It was not above twenty days, that the king's army had been in the field, and in that short time it had reduced two strong garrisons of theirs, without giving the soldiers any conditions, Hawkesly-house in Worcestershire, and the town of Leicester: whilst their new general Fairfax had only faced Oxford at a distance, to try whether the ladies would prevail for the giving up of the town, to pacify their fears; and had attempted to take a poor house that lay near, Borstall-house, and had been beaten from thence with considerable loss, and had drawn off from both, very little to his honour." These discourses were so public in the city, and had so much credit in both houses of parliament, that they exceedingly desired peace, and exercised their thoughts only how they might revive the old treaty, or set a new one on foot; when the evil genius of the kingdom in a moment shifted the whole scene.[1]

Leicester was a post, where the king might, with all possible convenience and honour, have sat still, till his army might have been recruited, as well as thoroughly refreshed. Colonel Gerrard was upon his march towards him from Wales, with a body of three thousand horse and foot: and he had reason to expect, that the lord Goring would be very shortly with him with his horse; for he was not departed from the king above four or five days, with those orders which are mentioned before, (and with which he was so well pleased,) but that the king saw cause to repent his separation, and sent other orders to recall him as soon as was possible. But the king's fate, and the natural unsteadiness and irresolution of those about him, hurried him into counsels very disagreeable to the posture he was in. He knew not that Fairfax was gone from Oxford; and the intelligence, which some men pretended to have received from thence, was, "that it was in distress." The duke of York remained there; the council, many lords and ladies, who sent intelligence to their friends, and all the magazines were

[1] The terrible disaster at Naseby, as terribly and sublimely announced.—W.

there; and if all these should fall into the enemy's hands, Leicester would appear a very poor recompense. These particulars being unskilfully, yet warmly pressed by those who could not be understood to mean amiss, the king resolved to march directly for Oxford; and in order thereunto, within five days after the taking of Leicester, he appointed the rendezvous for his army; where he might yet very reasonably have been discouraged from prosecuting that intention; for it then appeared evidently, how very much it was weakened by and since that action, and by the loss of those who were killed and wounded in the storm; by the absence of those who were left behind in the garrison; and by the running away of very many with their plunder, who would in few days have returned.

The number of the king's foot which remained, did not amount to above five hundred above three thousand;[1] which was not a body sufficient to fight a battle for a crown. Then, all the northern horse, who had promised themselves, and were promised by the king, that they should go into their own country, were so transported with this new resolution, that they were with great difficulty restrained from disbanding; and, though they were at last prevailed with to march, were not enough recovered to be depended upon in any sudden action. Notwithstanding all this, the march was continued; the next day, at Harborough, the intelligence came "that Fairfax was drawn off from Oxford, without having ever approached so near it, as to discharge one piece of cannon upon it; that he had been beaten off from Borstall-house with the loss of officers, as well as soldiers; and that he was marched with his whole army to Buckingham." But this kindled a greater appetite to find him out, than there was before. Indeed there was less reason to march northward, since they might well apprehend the Scottish army in their face, and Fairfax in their rear. But there was the same reason still for their retiring back to Leicester, or to Worcester, where they

[1] There must be some mistake here. The smallness of the number of foot is incredible in itself. Besides, Whitlock says, that the parliament took 4,500 of the king's foot prisoners at Naseby.—W.

might expect, and could not fail of an addition of forces to the army; and where the enemy, who must now be obliged to find them out, must come with many disadvantages. These considerations were all laid aside, and every body believed, that Fairfax's army was much dispirited, by having failed in their two first enterprises; and that it was now led out of the way, that it might recover courage, before it should be brought to fight with so victorious troops as the king's were: and therefore, that it was best to find them out, whilst their fear was yet upon them: all men concluded that to be true, which their own wishes suggested to them. And so the army marched to Daventry in Northamptonshire: where, for want of knowing where the enemy was, or what he intended to do, the king remained in a quiet posture the space of five days.

Upon the thirteenth of June the king received intelligence, that Fairfax was advanced to Northampton, with a strong army; much superior to the numbers he had formerly been advertised of. Whereupon, he retired the next day to Harborough; and meant to have gone back to Leicester, that he might draw more foot out of Newark, and stand upon his defence, till the other forces, which he expected, could come up to him. But, that very night, an alarm was brought to Harborough, that Fairfax himself was quartered within six miles. A council was presently called, and the former resolution of retiring presently laid aside, and a new one as quickly taken, "to fight;" to which there was always an immoderate appetite, when the enemy was within any distance. They would not stay to expect his coming, but would go back to meet him. And so, in the morning early, being Saturday the fourteenth of June, all the army was drawn up, upon a rising ground of very great advantage, about a mile south from Harborough, (which was left at their back,) and there put in order to give or receive the charge. The main body of the foot was led by the lord Astley, (whom the king had lately made a baron,) consisting of about two thousand and five hundred foot; the right wing of horse, being about two thousand, was led by prince Rupert; the left wing of horse, consisting of all the northern horse, with those from Newark, which did not amount to above

sixteen hundred, was commanded by sir Marmaduke Langdale; in the reserve were the king's life-guard, commanded by the earl of Lindsey, and prince Rupert's regiment of foot, (both which did make very little above eight hundred,) with the king's horse-guards, commanded by the lord Bernard Stuart, (newly made earl of Litchfield,) which made that day about five hundred horse.

The army, thus disposed in good order, made a stand on that ground to expect the enemy. About eight of the clock in the morning it began to be doubted, whether the intelligence they had received of the enemy was true. Upon which the scoutmaster was sent to make further discovery; who, it seems, went not far enough; but returned and averred, "that he had been three or four miles forward, and could neither discover nor hear any thing of them:" presently, a report was raised in the army, "that the enemy was retired." Prince Rupert thereupon drew out a party of horse and musketeers, both to discover and engage them, the army remaining still in the same place and posture they had been in. His highness had not marched above a mile, when he received certain intelligence of their advance, and in a short time after, he saw the van of their army, but it seems not so distinctly, but that he conceived they were retiring. Whereupon, he advanced nearer with his horse, and sent back, "that the army should march up to him;" and the messenger who brought the order said, "that the prince desired they should make haste." Hereupon the advantage ground was quitted, and the excellent order they were in, and an advance made towards the enemy, as well as might be. By that time they had marched about a mile and an half, the horse of the enemy was discerned to stand upon a high ground about Naseby; whence seeing the manner of the king's march, in a full campaign, they had leisure and opportunity to place themselves, with all the advantages they could desire. The prince's natural heat and impatience could never endure an enemy long in his view; nor believe that they had the courage to endure his charge. And so the army was engaged before the cannon was turned, or the ground made choice of upon which they were to fight: so

that courage was only to be relied upon, where all conduct failed so much.

It was about ten of the clock when the battle began: the first charge was given by prince Rupert; who, with his own, and his brother prince Maurice's troop, performed it with his usual vigour; and was so well seconded, that he bore down all before him, and was master of six pieces of the rebels' best cannon. The lord Astley, with his foot, though against the hill, advanced upon their foot; who discharged their cannon at them, but overshot them, and so did their musketeers too. For the foot on either side hardly saw each other till they were within carabine-shot, and so only gave one volley; the king's foot, according to their usual custom, falling in with their swords, and the butt-ends of their muskets; with which they did very notable execution, and put the enemy into great disorder and confusion. The right wing of horse and foot being thus fortunately engaged and advanced, the left wing, under sir Marmaduke Langdale, in five bodies, advanced with equal resolution; and was encountered by Cromwell, who commanded the right wing of the enemy's horse, with seven bodies greater and more numerous than either of the other; and had, besides the odds in number, the advantage of the ground; for the king's horse were obliged to march up the hill, before they could charge them: yet they did their duty, as well as the place, and great inequality of numbers, would enable them to do. But being flanked on both sides by the enemy's horse, and pressed hard, before they could get to the top of the hill, they gave back, and fled further and faster than became them. Four of the enemy's bodies, close, and in good order, followed them, that they might not rally again; which they never thought of doing; and the rest charged the king's foot, who had till then so much the advantage over theirs; whilst prince Rupert, with the right wing, pursued those horse which he had broken and defeated.

The king's reserve of horse, which was his own guards, with himself in the head of them, were even ready to charge those horse who followed his left wing, when, on a sudden, such a panic fear seized upon them, that they all run near a

quarter of a mile without stopping; which happened upon an extraordinary accident, that hath seldom fallen out, and might well disturb and disorder very resolute troops, as those were, the best horse in the army. The king, as was said before, was even upon the point of charging the enemy, in the head of his guards, when the earl of Carnewarth, who rode next to him, (a man never suspected for infidelity, nor one from whom the king would have received counsel in such a case,) on a sudden, laid his hand on the bridle of the king's horse, and swearing two or three full mouthed Scottish oaths, (for of that nation he was,) said, "Will you go upon your death in an instant?" and, before his majesty understood what he would have, turned his horse round; upon which a word run through the troops, "that they should *march* to the right hand;" which was both from charging the enemy, or assisting their own men. And upon this they all turned their horses, and rode upon the spur, as if they were every man to shift for himself.

It is very true, that, upon the more soldierly word *stand*, which was sent to run after them, many of them returned to the king; though the former unlucky word carried more from him. And by this time, prince Rupert was returned with a good body of those horse, which had attended him in his prosperous charge on the right wing; but they having, as they thought, acted their parts, could never be brought to rally themselves again in order, or to charge the enemy. And that difference was observed[1] shortly from the beginning of the war in the discipline of the king's troops, and of those which marched under the command of Cromwell, (for it was only under him, and had never been notorious under Essex or Waller,) that, though the king's troops prevailed in the charge, and routed those they charged, they never rallied

[1] That is, the king's troops were *undisciplined*, and those of Cromwell and Fairfax *disciplined*; for nothing but that could make the difference, where the *courage* was equal. But the difference of the generals too must be taken into the account. Rupert had no genius for war, otherwise he could never have repeated the same fault twice, at *Edge-hill*, *Marston Moor*, and now again at Naseby. His only military quality was courage; and in this he was equalled by Fairfax and Cromwell, who had other eminent qualities of service besides.—W.

themselves again in order, nor could be brought to make a second charge again the same day: which was the reason, that they had not an entire victory at Edge-hill: whereas Cromwell's troops, if they prevailed, or though they were beaten, and routed, presently rallied again, and stood in good order, till they received new orders. All that the king and prince could do, could not rally their broken troops, which stood in sufficient numbers upon the field, though they often endeavoured it, with the manifest hazard of their own persons. So that, in the end, the king was compelled to quit the field; and to leave Fairfax master of all his foot, cannon, and baggage; amongst which was his own cabinet, where his most secret papers were, and letters between the queen and him; of which they shortly after made that barbarous use as was agreeable to their natures, and published them in print; that is, so much of them, as they thought would asperse either of their majesties, and improve the prejudice they had raised against them; and concealed other parts, which would have vindicated them from many particulars with which they had aspersed them.

It will not be seasonable, in this place, to mention the names of those noble persons who were lost in this battle; when the king and the kingdom were lost in it;[1] though there were above one hundred and fifty officers, and gentlemen of prime quality, dead upon the spot; whose memories ought to be preserved. The enemy left no manner of barbarous cruelty unexercised that day; and in the pursuit killed above one hundred women, whereof some were the wives of officers of quality. The king and prince Rupert, with the broken troops, marched by Leicester that night to Ashby de la Zouch; and the next day to Litchfield; and continued two days' march more, till he came to Bewdley in Worcestershire; where he rested one day; and then went to Hereford, with some disjointed imagination,[2] that

[1] A sentiment dictated by a generous despair, and as nobly expressed.—W.

[2] He would not say they had any *reason*; it was only an *imagination*; and even that he thought too good a name for their motive of going to Hereford, and therefore calls that imagination a *disjointed* one.—W.

he might, with those forces under Gerrard, who was general of South Wales, and was indeed upon his march, with a body of two thousand horse and foot, be able to have raised a new army. At Hereford, prince Rupert, before any formed counsel was agreed upon, what the king should do next, left the king, and made haste to Bristol, that he might put that place into a condition to resist a powerful and victorious enemy; which, he had reason to believe, would in a short time appear before it. And nothing can be here more wondered at, than that the king should amuse himself about forming a new army[1] in counties which had been vexed, and worn out with the oppressions of his own troops, and the licence of those governors, whom he had put over them; and not have immediately repaired into the west, where he had an army already formed, and a people, generally, well devoted to his service, and whither all his broken troops, and general Gerrard, might have transported themselves, before Fairfax could have given them any interruption; who had somewhat to do, before he could bend his course that way: of which unhappy omission we shall have too much occasion to take more notice, after we have again visited the west.

The sickness which infested Bristol, and which was thought to be the plague, had made it necessary for the prince to remove from thence: and no place was thought so convenient for his residence as Barnstable, a pleasant town in the north part of Devonshire, well fortified, with a good garrison in it, under the command of sir Allen Apsley. And as his highness was upon his way thither, he received the orders which the lord Goring, who was now returned, had procured from the king; and which he carefully transmitted to his highness as soon as he arrived. And at the same time, the lord Colepepper received another letter from the lord Digby, dated four days after the former orders, by which he signified "the king's express pleasure, that the lord Goring should command those forces in chief; that sir Richard

[1] Nothing indeed could be more wondered at, than this conduct in an able monarch; but it did not disgrace any of this king's former conduct.—W.

Greenvil should be major general of the whole army; that sir John Berkley, as colonel general of Devon and Cornwall, should intend the work before Plymouth; and that prince Rupert would send his ratification of all these; that the lord Hopton should attend his charge at the army, as general of the artillery." To which purpose, his majesty with his own hand writ to the lord Hopton; and that the prince "should not be in the army, but keep his residence in a safe garrison; and there, by the advice of his council, manage and improve the business of the west, and provide reserves, and reinforcements for the army:" with an intimation, "that Mr. Smith's house, near Bristol, would be a convenient place for his residence."

The prince and council were much amazed at these counsels and resolutions, so different from those which had been made; and therefore they thought it fit to conceal them, till they might represent faithfully to his majesty the state and condition of those parts, and their advice thereupon: well knowing, that if it were believed in the county, that the prince's authority was in the least manner superseded or diminished, besides other inconveniences, the hopeful levies, upon the agreement at Bridgewater, would be in a moment determined; the gentlemen who were to raise regiments, professing, "that they would receive no commissions but from his highness." But whatever secrecy they used to conceal the matter of those letters, and hastened away a despatch to the king concerning it, the lord Goring took as much care to publish it; and from that time expressed all possible contempt at least of the council attending the prince. However, within three days, there was another change; for the lord Digby, (sending at the same time express orders from the king to the lord Goring to that purpose,) by his letters to the lords of the council, of the nineteenth of May, within five days after the former, signified "his majesty's pleasure, that the lord Goring should march forthwith towards Northamptonshire, with all the forces could be spared; and that the prince himself should stay at Dunstar-castle, and encourage the new levies:" it being (I presume) not known at court, that the plague, which had driven him from Bristol, was as hot in Dunstar town, just under the walls of the cas-

tle. And then again, a letter to the lord Hopton from the king, ordered him "to command the forces under the prince." The prince was then, as was said before, in his way to Barnstable; having left five hundred of his guards to keep the fort in Bristol, the garrison being then very thin there, by reason of so many drawn from thence for the service before Taunton.

General Goring, upon his return from the king, found Taunton relieved by a strong party of two thousand horse, and three thousand foot, which unhappily arrived in the very article of reducing the town, and after their line was entered, and a third part of the town was burned. But this supply raised the siege, the besiegers drawing off without any loss; and the party that relieved them, having done their work, and left some of their foot in the town, made what haste they could, to make their retreat eastward; when Goring fell so opportunely upon their quarters, that he did them great mischief; and believed that, in that disorder, he had so shut them up between narrow passes, that they could neither retire to Taunton, nor march eastward: and doubtless he had them then at a great advantage, by the opinion of all men that knew the country. But, by the extreme ill disposing his parties, and for want of particular orders, (of which many men spoke with great licence,) his two parties sent out several ways to fall upon the enemy about Petherton-bridge, the one commanded by colonel Thornhill, the other by sir William Courtney, (both diligent and sober officers,) they fell foul on each other, to the loss of many of their men; both the chief officers being dangerously hurt, and one of them taken, before they knew their error; through which the enemy with no more loss got into and about Taunton: notwithstanding which untoward accident, general Goring was, or seemed, very confident that he should speedily so distress them, that the place would be the sooner reduced, by the relief that had been put into it, and that in few days they would be at his mercy.

This was before the latter end of May; when, upon the confidence of speedily despatching that work, all possible and effectual care was taken to supply him with provisions, and to send all the new levied men and his highness's own guards

thither. Insomuch, as he had within few days a body of full five thousand foot, and four thousand horse; which he quartered at the most convenient places; rather for ease than duty; having published orders, under pretence of preserving the country from plunder, and with a promise of most exemplary discipline, "that sixpence a day should be collected for the payment of each trooper;" to which he got the commissioners' consent; by virtue whereof he raised great sums of money, without the least abatement of the former disorders: yet he proceeded with such popular circumstances, sending most specious warrants out, and declarations for reformation; sometimes desiring, "that solemn prayers might be said in all churches for him; and to desire God to bless some attempt he had then in hand;" always using extreme courtship to the commissioners, (whom he barefaced informed, "that he was to have, or rather, that he had the absolute command of the west under the prince, without reference to his council,") that with his promises, proclamations, and courtship, together with laughing at those persons they were angry at, he had wrought himself into very popular consideration; till they found, that he promised and published orders, to no other purpose than to deceive them; and that, whilst he seemed with them to laugh at other men, he made them properties only to his own ends.

In this conjuncture, the king's letter came to the lord Goring, to march; to which he returned an answer by an express, before he desired the prince's directions; though he was diligent enough to procure his highness's opinion for the respite of his march. The truth is, the assurance that he gave of his reducing those forces within very few days; the leaving all the west to the mercy of the rebels, if he went before they were reduced; the danger of their marching in his rear, and carrying as great an addition of strength to the enemy, as general Goring could carry to the king, except he carried with him the forces of the several garrisons, which were then joined to him, made it very counsellable to suspend a present obedience to those orders, till his majesty might receive the full and true state of his affairs in those parts; to which purpose, an express was sent likewise by his highness to the king. In the mean time, general Goring

was so far from making any advance upon Taunton, that he grew much more negligent in it than he had been; suffered provisions, in great quantities, to be carried into the town, through the midst of his men; neglected and discouraged his own foot so much, that they ran away faster than they could be sent up to him; and gave himself wholly to licence: insomuch that many times he was not seen abroad in three or four days together. Then came the news of the fatal blow at Naseby, which freed him from any fear of being drawn out of the west; yet he used no expedition to attempt any thing upon the enemy, who were exceedingly disheartened; but suffered his guards to be more negligently kept; insomuch that his quarters were often beaten up, even in the daytime; whilst some principal officers of his army, as lieutenant general Porter, and others, with his licence, had several parleys with the officers of the rebels, to the very great scandal of the rest; who knew not what interpretation to make of it, at a time that he used to mention the person of the king with great contempt,[1] and avowed in all places a virulent dislike of the prince's council. And, after about six weeks lying about Taunton, the forces whereof he promised to confound (I mean those that marched to the relief of it) within few days, he was forced himself to retire, and suffer them to join with sir Thomas Fairfax; who in the beginning of July marched towards those parts.

After the prince came to Barnstable, though he very seldom received any account from the lord Goring of what happened, he was informed by several persons of credit, "that general Goring was much discontented; and expressed a great sense of disrespect, and unkindnesses that he had received." And therefore it was wished by them, "that some means might be found out, to settle a good understanding with him, whereby he might be encouraged to an alacrity in so important a season:" and he having appointed to be at Tiverton on such a day, the prince sent thither sir John Berkley, sir Hugh Pollard, and colonel Ashburnham, to confer with him, and to know what he desired; the prince hav-

[1] It is certain that the king, for his uxoriousness, was held in great contempt by the more licentious part of the court, and in great pity by the more sober part.---W.

ing never denied to assist him, in any one particular he had ever proposed, or to grant him any thing he had expressed a desire of. Upon their meeting there, he carried himself very high; talked only of "general neglects put upon him by the prince's council; that he had been promised by the king to have the command of the west, but that they had hindered it; which affront he would have repaired, before he would do any service upon the enemy;" with many bitter invectives against particular persons; whereof I was the principal, prince Rupert having told him (as he said) that I thought him not a man fit to be trusted;[1] I having indeed spoken freely (though not so much) to him upon his very frankly discoursing to me of him to that purpose. In the end, they pressing him as friends to deal particularly with them, what would satisfy him; he told them, "if he might be presently made lieutenant general to the prince, and admitted of his council, and be promised to be sworn of the privy council, as soon as might be, and to be gentleman of the prince's bedchamber, he would then proceed roundly and cheerfully in the business; otherwise, the prince's council should do the work themselves for him." All this being so extravagant, it cannot be thought any answer could be given to it, especially it being said to them as friends, and not expressly sent to the prince.

When the prince first apprehended the advance of sir Thomas Fairfax to the west, he very earnestly recommended to the lord Goring the state of the garrisons about Bridgewater, especially the garrison of Lamport, which was of so great importance, that, being well supplied, it had secured Bridgewater, and all that part of the country. This garrison had been settled by the lord Hopton, upon his first coming down to Taunton, after Vandruske had raised the blockade that colonel Windham had laid to it; and sir Francis Mackworth (who, having been formerly major general to the marquis of Newcastle, of all his forces, was now, that army being dissolved, returning to his command in the Low Countries by his majesty's leave) was engaged by him to take the command of it till, upon the prince's coming into those parts,

[1] This was a very paltroon trick of his highness.---W.

a worthier command could be provided for him; and before the lord Goring's coming to Taunton, he had fortified it to a good degree. This garrison, from the first establishment, had been much maligned by colonel Windham, who desired not to have another governor so near him, who was to receive some of the fruit that he had before looked on as his own, though never assigned to him: and then, upon some differences between sir John Stawel and sir Francis Mackworth, it was more inveighed against: insomuch as at the first coming down of the prince to Bristol, most of the time was spent in complaints from sir John Stawel of this garrison, and of the forcing the county to work, and contribute to those fortifications. After the lord Goring's coming to Taunton, he had, as a compliment to Bridgewater, and to all the gentlemen, who were grown angry with my lord Hopton, upon their own fancies, besides the former unkindnesses he had to sir Francis Mackworth upon some disputes they had had in the north, (where they were both general officers,) very much neglected and oppressed that garrison; not only by countenancing all complaints against it, but by taking away all the contribution assigned for the support of it, for the supplying his own army; and expressly inhibiting him by force to levy those rates, which the prince himself had assigned to him. Insomuch as when the club-men of the county assembled together in great numbers, and, having taken some officers and soldiers of that garrison prisoners, for requiring their just contributions in money or provisions, came up to the walls of Lamport, and discharged their muskets upon the works, and sir Francis Mackworth thereupon with his horse charged them, and killing one or two of them, forced the rest to run away, the lord Goring sent him a very strict reprehension for so doing, and positively commanded him "to do so no more; nor in any case to disturb or injure those people." And so brought that garrison so low, that when it might have preserved that army, it had not two days' provisions in it; sir Francis Mackworth having been called to wait on the prince's person, as well by his own choice, (when he saw the carriage towards him, and believing that some prejudice to his person brought a disadvantage to the place,) as by prince Rupert's

advice; who promised, when he left the prince at Barnstable, and visited Goring, and Bridgewater, "to settle that garrison of Lamport, and make colonel Windham governor of it."

Here I cannot but say somewhat of the club-men; who began then to rise in great numbers, in several parts of the country, about the time that the prince went from Bath to Bridgewater, in his journey to Barnstable; and that night his highness lay at Wells, which was the second of June, a petition was delivered to him, which had been agreed upon that day at Marshals Elme, where there had then assembled five or six thousand men, most in arms; and the petitioners were appointed to attend the next day at Bridgewater for an answer. It was evident, though the avowed ground for the rising was the intolerable oppression, rapine, and violence, exercised by the lord Goring's horse, that in truth, they received encouragement from many gentlemen of the country; some of them thinking, it would be a good expedient to necessitate a reformation of the army; others believing it would be a profitable rising for the king, and would grow into the matter of the first association, one and all. And therefore some principal agents of sir John Stawel's were very active in those meetings; and he himself was very solicitous, that a very gracious answer might be returned to their petition; which was followed by some farmerly men, and others of the clergy, both which had good reputations of affection and integrity to the king's service. The prince expressed a great sense of the oppressions they suffered, by the disorder of the army, which he promised to do his best to reform; to which end, he writ many earnest letters to the lord Goring. But his highness told them, "that this unwarrantable course of assembling together, and being their own judges, would prove very pernicious: for though many of them might mean well, yet some active ministers would mingle with them, on the behalf of the rebels, and having once brought them to a kind of neutrality, and unconcernedness for the king, would, in a moment, be able, against all their good wishes, to apply them against him; and therefore straitly inhibited them to meet any more in that manner, except they first listed themselves

in regiments, and chose gentlemen of the country to command them ;" to whom his highness offered to grant commissions to that purpose.

This answer seemed to satisfy those who attended on the behalf of the petitioners, until they were persuaded by some gentlemen not to submit to it ; and so they continued their meetings ; many inferior officers of the army quitting their charges, and living amongst them, and improving their discontents. When the prince went to Barnstable, he gave general Goring advertisements " of the great danger that might arise out of the licence that people took to themselves ;" and therefore advised him, " on the one hand, to suppress and reform the crying disorders of the army by good discipline, and severity upon enormous transgressors ; so on the other, seasonably to discountenance, and punish those assemblies of club-men ; which would otherwise, in time, prove as dangerous to him, as any other strength of the rebels." But, whether it were to shew his greatness, and so, popularly to comply with what the prince had discountenanced, or whether in truth he believed he should be able to make use of them, and persuade them to become a part of his army, he did use all possible compliance with them, and would not suffer any force to be used against them. So that they grew to be so powerful, that as they kept provisions from the army, and the garrisons ; so when he moved from Taunton, upon the coming down of sir Thomas Fairfax, they killed most of his soldiers ; and did him more mischief, than all the power of the rebels.

When the prince came to Barnstable, he received the fatal news of the battle of Naseby, by the noise and triumphs which the rebels made in those parts for their victory, without any particular information, or account from Oxford, or any credible persons ; which left some hope that it might not be true, at least not to that degree that disaffected people reported it to be. However, at the worst, it concerned him the more to be solicitous to put the west into such a posture, that it might be able to repair any loss the king had received ; which he might have done, if the jealousies and animosities between particular persons could have been

reconciled, and a union been made amongst all men who pretended to wish, and really did wish, prosperity to the king's affairs; which were disturbed, and even rendered desperate, by the intolerable pride and incorrigible faction,[1] of and between such persons. Notwithstanding the orders, which had been made by the commissioners of Devonshire, for distributing the contributions of that county, which have been mentioned before, and in which such a proportion was assigned for the maintenance of the forces before Plymouth, as in sir Richard Greenvil's own judgment was sufficient for them; he had still continued to levy the whole contribution, which he had done formerly, for six thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse; and said, "he could not submit to the other division and retrenchment; for that there was nothing assigned, or left for the payment of his men before Taunton." He was told by the commissioners, "that they were now a part of the army, and lived as their fellows did; that they had received no money from him since their going thither, but had had free quarter as the rest of the army; and that it would prove of ill consequence, and beget a mutiny, if they should receive a weekly pay, when none of the rest did, nor any army the king had in England:[2] that he could not but confess, by the state of the whole, that the dispensation was very reasonable; and that it could not be expected that the county would be contented to pay their contribution for the payment of foreign forces, when their own garrisons, that were kept for their defence, should be compelled, for want of pay, to disorders, or to disband. But that, if he thought any thing in those establishments unnecessary, or that he thought provision could be otherwise made for them, they would be contented that the overplus should be disposed as

[1] Their ambition for command was neither to serve the common cause, nor to acquire glory by success in arms, but merely to empower them to plunder the country, and to waste the spoils in luxury and riot.---W.

[2] Was it possible under this singular circumstance, while the parliament forces received pay, and were under discipline, there could be any other issue of the war?—W.

he desired." He answered none of their reasons; but positively said, "he would spare none of the contributions formerly assigned to him;" though the commissioners had the same authority now to take it away, as they had then to dispose it to him; and though it appeared to be assigned for the maintenance of so great a force, as was before spoken of, and upon his undertaking, under his hand, "to take the town before Christmas day."

When this account was presented to the prince, he found it necessary, and resolved, to confirm what was proposed by the commissioners, without which those garrisons could not be supported; yet deferred the settling thereof, till he came to Barnstable,* being resolved speedily to go thither; and,

* When we were at Barnstable, one day, the bishop of Salisbury came to us at council, and informed us that there was a young fellow who assumed too much licence about the prince, one Wheeler, who, though he had no relation of service to king or prince, intruded himself with great boldness about his highness; that he was very debauched, and of so filthy a behaviour, that it was not to be spoken of; and that sir Hugh Windham had complained of some beastliness of his that was not to be named. Whereupon, after a long debate in the presence of his highness, it was unanimously resolved, that he should be forbid to come any more to court, or to reside in any place where the prince should be; for which purpose he was sent for, and commanded accordingly to depart the town that time. The same night, about ten of the clock, sir Hugh Windham came to me to the governor's, and told me the prince had sent him to me, to give directions that Wheeler should be committed. I told him I thought he was gone out of the town; he replied, No, he saw him but now, and that, as he came up the street, Wheeler came to him, and threatened him to be revenged on him; and told him that he had spoken ill of the king, and that he had said, he would join with the prince against the king, and that he would cut the king's throat: which, he said, was an imputation of such a nature, that he desired he might be examined. I told him, I had never heard any such thing; but I would speak with the governor to send a guard to keep him that night, and that I would wait upon the prince the next morning for his commands. The next morning I went to court, the prince being then riding: he called to me, and commanded me that the business of Wheeler should be thoroughly examined. Thereupon, as soon as the council met, I acquainted their lordships with what had passed; who gave directions for Wheeler to be sent for; and we sent for the bishop of Salisbury to be present at the examination. When the young man came, we asked him what he had to accuse sir H. Windham of; and wished him to consider well what he spake, because his words could have little credit, since it was evident he spake out of revenge. He said,

before his coming thither, had sent to the commissioners both of Devon and Cornwall to attend him; which they did within a day or two after he came thither, together with sir John Berkley and sir Richard Greenvil. The commissioners for Devon very earnestly pressed the settling the contributions in the manner before proposed, and the regulating the exorbitant power of sir Richard Greenvil, who raised what money he pleased, and committed what persons he pleased; and the commissioners from Cornwall presented a very sharp complaint against him, in the name of the whole county, for several exorbitancies, and strange acts of tyranny exercised upon them: "that he had committed very many honest substantial men, and all the constables of the east part of the county, to Lydford prison in Devonshire, for no offence, but to compel them to ransom themselves for money; and that his troopers had committed such outrages in the county, that they had been compelled, in open sessions, to declare against him; and to authorize the county, in case that he should send his troops in such manner, to rise, and beat them out;"

that about a month before, (and named the day,) he and sir H. Windham being together at such a place, sir H. Windham complained of the king, and said he served the prince, and that, if the prince would take up arms tomorrow against the king, he would follow him. We asked him who heard it. He said, Mr. Rogers and Mr. Marsh; who being both sent for, and examined severally, seemed prepared beforehand on the behalf of Windham; Marsh saying, that he remembered nothing, nor took notice of what was said; the other confessing that sir H. Windham asked him, if the prince should take up arms against the king, what part he would take; but remembered no such expressions of Windham's as Wheeler accused him of. Upon the whole matter, my lords unanimously (except my lord Berkshire) advised the prince, in a business of so tender a nature, that he would not be too strict, and that, seeing sir H. Windham stood accused of so ill a carriage, and (though denied by him) that it appeared he had used very uncomely language and question by the confession of Rogers, that the former sentence upon Wheeler should be executed; and that sir H. Windham should likewise forbear coming near the prince, till the king should be acquainted with the whole business; and that Rogers and Marsh should for the present not come near the prince. This was thought a severe sentence against Windham, and drew very much malice from that family towards me; though truly, out of the knowledge that his mother had before used me ill, I proceeded in that business (lest I might be suspected of some passion) with the same candour as I would have done towards a brother.

which declaration was produced, signed by all the commissioners, who were most eminently and zealously affected to his majesty; and was indeed no other than a denouncing war against Greenvil; and was excused by them "as an act of necessity to compose the people, who would otherwise in the instant have risen, and cut the throats of all his men." So that, whosoever would have made a judgment, upon what he heard from the commissioners of Devon and Cornwall at that time, must have concluded, that sir Richard Greenvil was the most justly odious to both counties, that can be imagined. And no doubt the man had behaved himself with great pride and tyranny over them; though the discipline he exercised over his men at Plymouth, in keeping them from committing any disorder, or offering the least prejudice to any man, (which, considering the vast assignment of money he had, and the small numbers of men, was no hard matter to do,) had raised him much credit among the country people, who had lived long under the licence of prince Maurice; and the fame of it had extended his reputation to a greater distance.

There need but two instances be given, (though it is not possible to avoid many more in the continuance of this discourse,) to discover the nature and the temper of the man: the first, that, coming (on his first coming into the country, and having then no command) to visit general Digby, who then commanded before Plymouth, after dinner, in requital of his civility, and as a respect to him, and it being possible that some party from Plymouth might be in his way, Mr. Digby (who told me this story) sent a party of horse to attend him for some miles. As they passed, sir Richard espied two fellows in a common, with burdens of wood upon their backs, and sent a trooper to fetch them to him. When they came, he found them, upon examination and threats, to be soldiers of the garrison of Plymouth, who had stolen out to beg victuals, and had taken those bundles to disguise them in their return. Whereupon he caused them to draw lots which of them should hang the other; and in his own presence forced him, to whose turn it came, to hang his fellow; himself then having no power or command in those parts. The other in-

stance was, that shortly after he was deputed to that charge before Plymouth, upon the hurt of Mr. Digby, one Brabant, an attorney at law, (who had heretofore solicited the great suit against sir Richard in the star-chamber, on the behalf of his wife and the earl of Suffolk, living in those parts, and having always very honestly behaved himself towards the king's service,) knowing, it seems, the nature of the gentleman, resolved not to venture himself within the precincts where he commanded; and therefore intended to go to some more secure quarter; but was taken in his journey, having a montero on his head. (Sir Richard Greenvil having laid wait to apprehend him, and he accordingly concealing himself,) and being now brought before sir Richard, was immediately, by his own direction, without any council of war, because he said he was disguised, hanged as a spy: which seemed so strange and incredible, when I first heard it, that I asked him, "whether it was true?" And he answered very unconcernedly, "Yes, he had hanged him, for he was a traitor, and against the king; and that he had taken a brother of his, whom he might have hanged too, but he had suffered him to be exchanged." He said, "he knew the country talked, that he hanged him for revenge, because he had solicited a cause against him; but that was not the cause; though having played the knave with him," he said smiling, "he was well content to find a just occasion to punish him."

The prince was very unwilling to enter so far and so particularly upon the passionate complaint of either county, as thereby to be compelled to censure or to discountenance sir Richard Greenvil; who, he thought, might be applied very usefully to the public service. And therefore he resolved, according to the former design, to commit the business of Plymouth to sir John Berkley; who might, without any reproach to the other, discharge such from imprisonment as had lain long enough there, though faulty, and who made no other pretence to the contribution, than according to the assignments made by the commissioners; and to dispose sir Richard Greenvil to the field, according to his own proposition; for which there was now the more seasonable opportunity, the lord Goring having then written to the prince, "to desire

him, that, in regard very many of sir Richard Greenvil's soldiers before Taunton were run away, insomuch that of the two thousand two hundred brought thither by him, there were not six hundred left, and that there could be no such expedient to bring them back, or to encourage the new levies, as by his presence in that army, that he would send sir Richard Greenvil thither; where he should command as field marshal:" to which purpose he had likewise written to sir Richard Greenvil, persuading him, "that he should fix a quarter towards Lyme, and have the whole managing of that province:" and so a very good correspondence was begun between them. And thereupon his commission of field marshal of the associated army was delivered to him, with direction, "in the mean time to abide with the lord Goring;" who deputed him to command in the same place. It is true that he then desired, "to continue the command before Plymouth in *commendam*, and to execute the same by his major general; but he was told, that it was otherwise settled by his own proposition and advice, and therefore that it could not be altered:" and indeed would have prevented the satisfaction, which was to be given to the two counties. Then he insisted very much upon some assignment of contribution for the army; for, he said, "he neither would nor could command men who were not paid." But after some sharp invectives against the excess and laziness of governors, and the needless contribution assigned to garrisons, finding that the subsistence for the army must be provided out of Somerset and Dorset, he took his leave of the prince; and, with his commission of field marshal, went to the lord Goring before Taunton; sir John Berkley being at the same time despatched to Plymouth.

About the beginning of July sir Thomas Fairfax entered into Somersetshire; so that general Goring found it convenient to draw off from Taunton, and seemed to advance towards him, as if he intended to fight; fixing his quarters between the rivers about Lamport, very advantageously for defence, having a body of horse and foot very little inferior to the enemy, although by great negligence he had suffered his foot to moulder away before Taunton, for want of provi-

sions and countenance; when the horse enjoyed plenty, even to excess and riot. He had been there very few days, when the enemy, at noonday, fell into his quarters, upon a party of horse of above a thousand, commanded by lieutenant general Porter; who were so surprised, that though they were in a bottom, and could not but discern the enemy coming down the hill, half a mile at the least, yet the enemy was upon them, before the men could get upon their horses; they being then feeding in a meadow; so that this body was entirely routed, and very many taken; and, the next day, notwithstanding all the advantages of passes, and places of advantage, another party of the enemy's horse and dragoons fell upon the whole army; routed it; took two pieces of cannon; and pursued Goring's men through Lamport, (a place, which if it had not been with great industry discountenanced and oppressed, as is said before, might well have secured his, and resisted their army,) and drove them to the walls of Bridgewater; whither the lord Goring in great disorder retired; and spending that night there, and leaving with them the cannon, ammunition, and carriages, and such soldiers as were desired, in equal disorder, the next day, he retired into Devonshire; the club-men and country people infesting his march, and knocking all stragglers, or wearied soldiers, on the head. Upon that rout, which was no less than a defeat of the whole army, the lord Goring retired to Barnstable: from whence (the prince being gone some days before to Launceston in Cornwall) he writ to the lord Digby, "that there was so great a terror and distraction among his men, that he was confident, at that present, they could not be brought to fight against half their number." In the letter he writ, "that he had then" (being within three days after their rout, when very many stragglers were not come up) "between three and four thousand foot," (prince Rupert's regiment being left in Bridgewater, consisting of above five hundred men, and two hundred in Burrow, and five and twenty hundred horse, besides sir Lewis Dives's regiment, and all the western horse,) so that, by this account, considering that there were not less than one thousand men killed, and taken prisoners, in those two unlucky days, and

that very many were run to Bristol, and others not come to him, it appears, that, when he rose from Taunton, he had a strength little inferior to the enemy.

Sir Thomas Fairfax then no more considered this running away, but left them to refresh, and recover themselves without the least pursuit; whilst he himself intended the recovery of Bridgewater; which was exceedingly wondered at; though it was quickly discerned, he had good reason to stop there. In the mean time general Goring spent his time at Barnstable, and those parts adjacent; his army quartering at Torrington, and over the whole north of Devon, and his horse committing such intolerable insolences and disorders, as alienated the hearts of those who were best affected to the king's service. Instead of endeavouring to recruit his army, or to put himself in a readiness and posture to receive the enemy, he suffered all, who had a mind, to depart; insomuch, as he writ to the lord Colepepper, on the 27th of July, "that he had not above thirteen hundred foot left." When he was at Barnstable, he gave himself his usual licence of drinking; and then, inveighing against the prince's council, said, "he would justify that they had been the cause of the loss of the west;" inveighing likewise in an unpardonable dialect against the person of the king,[1] and discoursing much of the revenge he would take upon those who had affronted him: and in this manner he entertained himself to the end of July, writing letters of discontent to the prince, and the lords; one day complaining for want of money, and desiring the prince to supply that want, when he well knew he wanted supply for his own table; and never received penny of the public collections or contributions: another day, desiring, "that all straggling soldiers might be sent out of Cornwall, and drawn from the garrisons, that he might advance upon the enemy;" and the next day proposing, "that all the foot might be put into garrisons, for that they could not be fit for the field;" so that before an answer could be sent to his last letter, another commonly arrived of a different temper.

[1] We oft meet with accounts of this licence in the king's courtiers and generals in traducing the person of the king; the knowledge of the particulars of this licence would have been curious.—W.

Sir Richard Greenvil grew again no less troublesome and inconvenient than the lord Goring. He had left the prince at Barnstable, well pleased with his commission of field marshal, and more that he should command alone the blocking up of Lyme; which, he resolved, should bring him in plenty of money; and in order to that, it was agreed, that on such a day appointed, "so many men from the garrisons of Dartmouth, Exeter, and Barnstable, should be drawn to Tiverton; where they should receive orders from sir Richard Greenvil, and join with such as he should bring from the lord Goring, for making a quarter towards Lyme;" and orders issued from his highness accordingly. But the governor of Dartmouth being to send two hundred foot, according to his order, sent an officer with so many a day's march; and sent an express, declaring, that if those men should be drawn from him, his garrison would be in great danger, and his works would stand still. Whereupon, by the advice of a council of war, they were remitted, and marched not to Tiverton. Those from Exeter, according to order, appeared at the time; and those from Barnstable and Dartmouth marched a day's journey and more towards Tiverton; but then, hearing that the lord Goring was risen from Taunton, which was true, though he returned thither the next day, made a halt; and sent back to the prince for orders; who conceived that, upon the rising of the lord Goring, the design of fixing a quarter upon Lyme would be disappointed, and that it would be necessary to strengthen Barnstable, where his own person was; recalled those men back thither; having despatched letters to sir Richard Greenvil, to acquaint him with the accidents that had diverted those from Dartmouth and Barnstable; but letting him know, "that, if the design held, those of Barnstable should meet, where and when he would appoint."

Sir Richard Greenvil took an occasion, from the soldiers failing to meet, at the day appointed, at Tiverton, (though if they had met, there could have been no progress in the former design,) to exclaim against the prince's council; and, the next day, in a cover directed to Mr. Fanshaw, who was secretary of the council, without any letter, returned the

commission of field marshal, formerly given him by the prince; and within two or three days after, on the fifth of July, he sent a very insolent letter to the lords of the council, complaining of "many undeserved abuses offered to him;" implying, "that the same were fastened on him by them, on the behalf of sir John Berkley;" told them, "that when they moved him to give over the command of Plymouth to sir John Berkley, they had promised him the principal command of the army under the prince:" whereas the truth is before set down, that the proposition was made by himself, both of quitting that charge, and of sir John Berkley's taking it, as the only fit person. He said, "he had hitherto served the king upon his own charge, and upon his own estate, without any allowance; and that, when he went from Barnstable, he was promised a protection for his house and estate; but when, after he was gone, his servant brought a protection ready drawn, all the clauses that comprehended any thing of favour were left out; and such a protection sent to him as he cared not for." He concluded, "that he would serve as a volunteer, till he might have opportunity to acquaint his majesty with his sufferings." Here it will be necessary, upon the mention of this protection, (which he took so ill to be denied,) and the mention of serving the king, without allowance, upon his own estate, which he very often and very insolently objected both in his letters, and in his discourse to the prince himself, to say somewhat of his estate, and what small allowance, he had from the king for his service.

When he came first into that country, he had no command at all; armed only with a commission to raise a regiment of horse, and a regiment of foot; of which he never raised horse or man, till long after, that he came to the command of Plymouth. Estate he had none, either there, or, that I have heard, any where else. It is true, his wife had an estate, of about five hundred pounds a year, about Tavistock and other parts of Devon; but it is as true, that it was conveyed before marriage, as hath been said, in such a manner, to friends in trust, that upon long suits in chancery, and in other courts, in the time of peace, there were se-

veral judgments and decrees in chancery against him. So that he had never, since the difference with his wife, which was many years before, received the least benefit or advantage from it. The first thing the king granted to him was the sequestration of all his wife's estate to his own use, (she living then in the rebels' quarters,) upon which title he settled himself in her house near Tavistock; and, by virtue of that grant, took all the stock upon the ground; and compelled the tenants to pay to him all the arrears of rent, or as much as he said was in arrear; which amounted to a very considerable value. When colonel Digby received his unfortunate hurt, which rendered him for that time uncapable to exercise his command, sir John Berkley very earnestly, and he only, moved prince Maurice, to confer that charge upon sir Richard Greenvil; and, though it was within a county of which he himself had the principal charge as colonel general, procured a full commission for the other to command those forces in chief; and delivered, or sent the same to him; having, from the time of his first coming down, used him with marvellous kindness. He had not then commanded long, when the earl of Essex came into those parts; whereupon he was compelled to rise; and after joined with the king.

When the earl of Essex's forces were dissolved, he was again designed for that service; and before the king left the country, he granted him the sequestration of all the estate of the earl of Bedford in Devonshire, all the estate of sir Francis Drake (by which he had Buckland Monachorum, which was his quarter whilst he blocked up Plymouth; and Worrington by Launceston) in Devon, and the lord Roberts's estate in Cornwall; all which, and his wife's estate, he enjoyed by the sequestration granted from his majesty, and of which he made a greater revenue than ever the owners did in time of peace. For, besides that he suffered no part of these estates to pay contribution, (whereby the tenants very willingly paid their full rents,) he kept very much ground, about all the houses, in his own hands; which he stocked with such cattle as he took from delinquents; for though he suffered not his soldiers to plunder, yet he was, in truth,

himself the greatest plunderer of this war; for whenever any person had disobeyed, or neglected any of his warrants, or when any man failed to appear at the *posse*, (which he summoned very frequently after he was sheriff of Devon, and for no other end but the penalty of defaulters,) he sent presently a party of horse to apprehend their persons, and to drive their grounds. If the persons were taken, they were very well content to remit their stock to redeem their persons. For the better disposing them whereto, he would now and then hang a constable, or some other poor fellow, for those faults of which a hundred were as guilty: and if, out of the terror of this kind of his justice, men hid themselves from being apprehended, they durst not send to require their stock; which was from thence quietly enjoyed: so that he had a greater stock of cattle, of all sorts, upon his own grounds, than any person whatsoever in the west of England. Besides this, the ordering of delinquents' estates in those parts being before that time not well looked to, by virtue of these sequestrations, he seized upon all the stock upon the grounds, upon all the furniture in the several houses, and compelled the tenants to pay to him all the rents due from the beginning of the rebellion. By these, and such like means, he had not only a vast stock, but received great sums of money, and had as great store of good household-stuff, as would furnish well those houses he looked upon as his own. And this was his own estate, upon which, he said, he had maintained himself, without any allowance from the king; which, I am confident, besides what he got by his contributions, which would always pay double the men he had, and were strictly levied, and by his other arts, and extortions of several kinds, was more and more worth in money to him, than his majesty bestowed upon all his general commanders of armies, and upon all his officers of state, since the beginning of the rebellion to that time. This computation would seem too enviously made, if I should proceed here to take any view of the services he ever did; and therefore (though they that are very good witnesses say, that notwithstanding all the bold promises of taking Plymouth within few days, "his furthest guards were never

nearer the town, than the lord Hopton's head quarter was the first day that he came thither") I shall leave that to other men to make the estimate.

Now when sir Richard Greenvil desired at Barnstable a protection for his houses and estates, it was conceived, that he apprehended there might, under pretence of claim, some attempt be made upon his stock by the owners; or that he feared, that there might be too strict an inquiry, by him that succeeded, for such things as, being designed for the public service, had been applied to his particular private use; as having, with great importunity, (as a thing upon which the service depended,) gotten from the commissioners of Devon above a thousand deal-boards, to make huts for the soldiers, he employed them all in the building a great riding-house at Buckland, for his own pleasure. However, so severe and terrible a person might easily be thought liable to many trespasses, when he should be removed from the place where he governed so absolutely. The protection was no sooner asked by him, than promised by the prince; but, after his departure, his servant bringing such a protection drawn, as exempted all those estates, which the king had granted to him in sequestration, from the payment of any contributions, (the which had been already so scandalous, that most of the principal persons of Cornwall had by that example, and with indignation at it, forborne to pay their rates; and he was told the ill consequence of it; and, "that no person there in council, whereof some had had very much greater commands in armies than he, and though others thought their services deserved any reasonable privilege, had been ever freed from contribution,") and thereupon those clauses were struck out, and the protection, in a fuller manner than ordinary, signed by the prince; and sir John Berkley, then present, declared, (of which his servant was advertised, though it was not fit, for the example, to put it in writing,) "that he would not require any contribution for that estate which was his wife's, and enjoyed by him though by virtue of the sequestration;" and the denying of this protection was his great grievance. And yet he did not only never pay a penny contribution before, or after, for all these estates, but refused to pay the

fee-farm rent, due to the king out of the earl of Bedford's estate, being two hundred marks *per annum*, though the auditor was sent to him to demand it: but this was merely an act of his own sovereignty.

After this angry letter to the lords, and the throwing up his commission without a letter, and so having no commission at all to meddle in martial affairs, he fixed a quarter, with his own horse and foot, at St. Mary Ottree, within three miles of Exeter; where he governed as imperiously as ever; raised what money he would, and imprisoned what persons he would. In the end, sir John Berkley, having appointed the constables of those hundreds which were assigned for Plymouth, to bring in their accounts of what money they had paid to sir Richard Greenvil, (which, he protested, he did only that thereby he might state the arrears, without the least thought of reproach to the other,) he caused a warrant to be read in all churches in the county, (that is, ordered it to be read in all, and in some it was read,) "that all persons should bring him an account of what monies or goods had been plundered from them by sir John Berkley, or any under him;" with several clauses very derogatory to his reputation. This, as it could not otherwise, begat great resentments; insomuch as the commissioners of Devon sent an express to the prince, who was then in Cornwall, beseeching him "to call sir Richard Greenvil from thence, and to take some order for the suppressing the furious inclinations of both sides, or else they apprehended, the enemy would quickly take an advantage of those dissensions, and invade the country before they otherwise intended;" and, in their letter, sent one of the warrants that sir Richard had caused to be read in the churches; which indeed was the strangest I ever saw.

Hereupon, the prince sent for sir Richard Greenvil to attend him; who accordingly came to him at Liskard; where his highness told him "the sense he had of his disrespect towards him, in the sending back his commission in that manner; and of his carriage after;" and asked him, "what authority he now had either to command men, or to publish such warrants?" He answered, "that he was high sheriff

of Devon, and by virtue of that office he might suppress any force, or inquire into any grievance his county suffered; and, as far as in him lay, give them remedy." He was told, "as sheriff he had no power to raise or head men, otherwise than by the *posse comitatus;* which he could not upon his own head raise, without warrant from the justices of peace: that, in these martial times, he was to receive orders, upon occasions, from the commander in chief of the king's forces; who had authority to command him by his commission." He was asked, "what he himself would have done, if, when he commanded before Plymouth, the high sheriff of Cornwall should have caused such a warrant concerning him to be read in churches?" He answered little to the questions, but sullenly extolled his services, and enlarged his sufferings. Afterwards, being reprehended with more sharpness than ever before, and being told, "that, whatever discourses he made of spending his estate, it was well understood, that he had no estate by any other title than the mere bounty of the king; that he had been courted by the prince more than he had reason to expect; and that he had not made those returns on his part which became him; in short, if he had inclination to serve his highness, he should do it in that manner he should be directed; if not, he should not, under the title of being sheriff, satisfy his own pride and passion:" (upon which reprehension being much gentler, than upon all the gracious addresses which had been made to him,) he answered, "he would serve the prince in such manner as he should command;" and thereupon he was discharged, and returned to his house to Worrington, one of those places he had by sequestration, (it belonged to sir Francis Drake,) where he lived privately, for the space of a fortnight, or thereabouts, without interposing in the public business. Let us now see how this tragedy was acted in other places.

We left the king at Hereford, not resolved what course to steer: prince Rupert gone to Bristol, from whence he made a short visit to the prince at Barnstable, to give him an account of the ill posture he had left the king in, and from thence went to his friend Goring to consult with him: and it was exceedingly wondered at, that when he saw in what

condition he was,[1] (for he was then before Taunton,) and the number of his horse and foot, (which every body then thought had been his business to be informed of,) he did not then hasten advice to the king, for his speedy repair thither; but his chief care was to secure Bristol; which, sure, at that time he made not the least question of doing; and believed the winter would come seasonably for future counsels.

The king quickly left Hereford, and went to meet the commissioners for South Wales at Abergaveny, the chief town in Monmouthshire. And as they were for the most part persons of the best quality, and the largest fortunes of those counties, so they had manifested great loyalty and affection, from the beginning of the war, by sending many good regiments to the army, and with their sons, and brothers, and nearest kindred; many of whom had lost their lives bravely in the field: and they now made as large and ample professions as ever, and seemed to believe, that they should be able, in a very short time, to raise a good army of foot, with which the king might again look upon the enemy; and accordingly agreed what numbers should be levied upon each of the counties. And so from thence his majesty went to Ragland-castle, the magnificent house of the marquis of Worcester; and which was well fortified, and garrisoned by him; who remained then in it. And there he resolved to stay, till he should see the effect of the commissioners' mighty promises. But he found in a short time, that, either by the continued successes of the parliament armies in all places, the particular information whereof was every day brought to them, by intelligence from their friends, or the triumphs of their enemies in Monmouth and Gloucester, or by the renewed smart, which the presence of their governor, general Gerrard, gave them, (who had been, and continued to be, a passionate and unskilful cultivator of the affections of the people; as having governed them with extraordinary rigour, and with as little courtesy and civility towards the gentry, as towards the common people,) there was little pro-

[1] This is certainly to be understood as a severe condemnation of Rupert's conduct, and I think a just one.---W.

bability of raising an army in those parts: where all men grew less affected, or more frighted, which produced one and the same effect. The king stayed at Ragland,[1] till the news came "that Fairfax, after he had taken Leicester," (which could not hold out longer than to make honourable conditions,) "was marched into the west, and had defeated Goring's troops at Lamport; and at the same time, that the Scottish army was upon its march towards Worcester, having taken a little garrison that lay between Hereford and Worcester by storm; and put all within it to the sword." And prince Rupert sent for all those foot which were levied towards a new army, and part of those which belonged to general Gerrard, to supply the garrison of Bristol: so that his majesty seemed now to have nothing in his choice, but to transport himself over the Severn to Bristol, and thence to have repaired to his army in the west; which would have been much better done before, yet had been well done then; and the king resolved to do so; and that the horse under Gerrard and Langdale should find a transportation over Severn, which was very easy to be done, and so would as easily find the way to him, wherever he should be.

And this was so fully resolved, that his majesty went to the water-side near Chepstow; where vessels were ready to transport him, and where prince Rupert from Bristol met him, very well pleased with the resolution he had taken, though he had not been privy to the counsel. And here again the unhappy discord in the court raised new obstructions;[2] they who did not love prince Rupert, nor were loved by him, could not endure to think that the king should be so

[1] Walker has here a remarkable passage; "His majesty went to Ragland-castle, and there stayed three weeks; and, as if the genius of that place had conspired with our fates, we were there *all lulled asleep with sports and entertainments; as if no crown had been at stake, or in danger to be lost, till the marching of Fairfax awakened us*," &c. p. 132. —W.

[2] His reverence for the king and court has deprived us of the most curious part of his history; a detailed account of these court intrigues, which he studious avoids on all occasions, even there where he acquaints us with the fatal effects of them.—W.

wholly within his power; and he himself was far from being importunate that he should prosecute his purpose, which he had not advised, though he liked it well enough; and so would not be answerable for any success. His majesty himself being too irresolute, the counsel was again changed, and the king marched to Cardiff; where he had been very little time, when he was informed, that Bridgewater was lost: and then they, who had dissuaded the king's embarkation for Bristol, were much exalted, and thought themselves good counsellors; though, in truth, the former resolution had been even then much better pursued; for nothing could have hindered his majesty from going to Exeter, and joining all his forces; which would have put him in a posture much better than he was ever afterwards.[1] Indeed the taking Bridgewater, which the king had been persuaded to believe a place impregnable, could not but make great impressions upon him, to think that he was betrayed, and consequently not to know whom to trust. It was in truth matter of amazement to all men, nor was it any excuse, that it was not of strength enough against so strong an army; for it was so strongly situated, and it might well have had all those additions which were necessary, by fortifications, that it was inexcusable in a governor, (who had enjoyed that charge above three years, with all allowances he had himself desired, and had often assured the king, "that it was not to be taken,") that it was not able to resist any strength that could come before it for one week; and within less than that time, it was surrendered, and put into Fairfax's hands.

That this prodigious success should break the spirits of most men, and even cast them into despair, is not at all to be wondered at; but that it should raise the hopes of any that it would produce a peace, is very strange; yet this imagination did so much harm, that men generally neglected to make that preparation against a powerful and insulting enemy, that was in their power to have made, out of confidence that

[1] The court seems to have been absolutely dementated. There was now no other reasonable measure to be taken, than for the king to make his last stand in the west.—W.

the offer of a treaty would now prevail, and produce a peace; and every man abounded so much in his own sense, that they were not capable of any reason that contradicted it. The commissioners of all counties, which were the best gentlemen, and of best affections, upon whom the king depended to apply the common people to his service, were so fully of this opinion, that they made cabals with the principal officers of the army, to concur with them in this judgment, and to contrive some way how it might be brought to pass; and too many of them were weary of doing their duty, or so much ashamed of not having done it,[1] that they professed themselves to desire it, at least as much as the rest. And this temper spread itself so universally, that it reached to prince Rupert himself; who writ his advice to that purpose to the duke of Richmond, to be presented to the king; who took that occasion to write the ensuing letter to the prince, with his own hand; which was so lively an expression of his own soul, that no pen else could have written it, and deserves to be transmitted to posterity, as a part of the portraiture of that incomparable king, which hath been disguised by false or erroneous copies from the true original; which was in these words.

From Cardiff in the beginning of the month of Aug. 1645.

"Nephew,

"This is occasioned by a letter of yours, that the duke of Richmond shewed me yesternight. And first, I assure you, I have been, and ever will be, very careful to advertise you of my resolutions, as soon as they are taken; and if I enjoined silence to that which was no secret, it was not my fault; for I thought it one, and I am sure it ought to have been so now. As for the opinion of my business, and your counsel thereupon, if I had any other quarrel but the defence of my religion, crown, and friends, you had full reason for your advice. For I confess, that speaking either as to mere soldier or statesman, I must say, there is no probability but of my

[1] There were very few of the king's generals throughout the war that ever did their duty.—W.

ruin; but as to Christian, I must tell you, that God will not suffer rebels to prosper, or his cause to be overthrown: and whatsoever personal punishment it shall please him to inflict upon me, must not make me repine, much less to give over this quarrel; which, by the grace of God, I am resolved against, whatsoever it cost me; for I know my obligations to be both in conscience and honour, neither to abandon God's cause, injure my successors, nor forsake my friends. Indeed I cannot flatter myself with expectation of good success, more than this, to end my days with honour, and a good conscience; which obliges me to continue my endeavour, as not despairing that God may in due time avenge his own cause. Though I must avow to all my friends, that he that will stay with me at this time, must expect, and resolve, either to die for a good cause, or, which is worse, to live as miserable in the maintaining it, as the violence of insulting rebels can make him. Having thus truly and impartially stated my case unto you, and plainly told you my positive resolutions, which, by the grace of God, I will not alter, they being neither lightly nor suddenly grounded, I earnestly desire you not in any ways to hearken after treaties; assuring you, as low as I am, I will not go less than what was offered in my name at Uxbridge; confessing that it were as great a miracle that they should agree to so much reason, as that I should be, within a month, in the same condition that I was immediately before the battle of Naseby. Therefore, for God's sake, let us not flatter ourselves with these conceits; and, believe me, the very imagination that you are desirous of a treaty, will lose me so much the sooner. Wherefore, as you love me, whatsoever you have already done, apply your discourse according to my resolutions and judgment. As for the Irish, I assure you they shall not cheat me; but it is possible they may cozen themselves: for be assured, what I have refused to the English, I will not grant to the Irish rebels, never trusting to that kind of people (of what nature soever) more than I see by their actions; and I am sending to Ormond such a despatch, as I am sure will please you, and all honest men; a copy whereof, by the next opportunity, you shall have. Lastly, be confident I would not have put you, nor myself, to the

trouble of this letter, had I not a great estimation of you, and a full confidence of your friendship to

"Your &c."

When the king came to Cardiff, he was entertained with the news, "that the Scottish army was set down before Hereford, and that, if it were not relieved within a month, it must fall into their hands." To provide for this, there could be no better way found out, than to direct the sheriffs of those Welsh counties to summon their *posse comitatus*, whereby the king was persuaded to hope, that there would be men enough to wait upon him in that expedition; who, with the horse he had, would have been equal to any attempt they could make upon the Scots. But it was quickly discovered, that this expedient had raised an unruly spirit, that could not easily be suppressed again; for the discontented gentlemen of those counties, now they had gotten the people legally together, put them in mind of "the injuries they had received from general Gerrard, and the intolerable exactions they lay under, which would undoubtedly be increased, if he continued in that government." So that, instead of providing men to march with the king, they provided a long list of grievances; from all which they desired to be relieved before they would apply themselves towards the relief of Hereford.[1] All this was so sturdily urged, that a body of no less than four thousand men, of those who were thus called together, continued together many days, and would not be separated, till the king was even compelled to give them satisfaction in the particular they most insisted upon; which was the removal of general Gerrard from having any command over them; and that charge was presently conferred upon the lord Astley, the major general of the army; who was most acceptable to them; and they afterwards conformed themselves as much to his directions, as from the distraction of the time, and the continual ill successes, could be expected by him.

But it was the hard fate of the king, that he could not pro-

[1] By this we see, that *redress of grievances* before *aid afforded*, was not the temper of this or that assembly, of this or that party, or faction, but the natural English spirit under oppression.—W.

vide what was fit for his own service, except he provided likewise for the satisfaction of other men's humours and appetites. Gerrard had now, upon the matter, the command of all the forces the king had to trust to; and he was of too impetuous a nature, to submit to any thing for conscience, or discretion, or duty;[1] so that the king was compelled to satisfy his ambition for this present degradation, by making him a baron; and, which was an odd and a very fantastical circumstance that attended it, for no other reason, than because there was once an eminent person, called Charles Brandon, who was afterwards made a duke, he would be created baron of Brandon, that there might be another Charles Brandon, who had no less aspiring thoughts than the other; when he had no pretence to the lands of Brandon; which belonged to, and were, at that time, in the possession of a gallant and worthy gentleman, sir Thomas Glemham; who at the same time (very unluckily) came to the king at Cardiff, with about two hundred foot, which he had brought with him out of the garrison of Carlisle; which place he had defended for the space of eleven months against David Lesley, and till all the horses of the garrison were eaten, and then had rendered, upon as honourable conditions, as had been given upon any surrender; David Lesley himself conveyed him to Hereford; where he joined with the other part of that army, and from thence sir Thomas Glemham (who was by his conditions to march to the king wherever he was) came to his majesty at Cardiff, at the time when the title of his own land, which he inherited as heir to the family of Brandon, was conferred upon a gentleman (how well extracted soever) of less quality and fortune, and, as many thought, merit. And this unseasonable preferment more irritated the country, from which the king then expected assistance, that when they believed they had accused him of crimes which deserved the highest censure, they saw him pretend to, and rewarded in, an higher degree than he could ever probably have arrived to, but for that ac-

[1] On every other occasion than resistance of oppression from the sovereign, the noble historian would have qualified these honest Welchmen's call for redress, by a nobler epithet than *sturdily*, and said *steadily*.—W.

cusation. And so the king, after all his endeavours were rendered fruitless,[1] entertained a new imagination, that he might get into Scotland to the marquis of Mountrose, who had done wonders there; and thereupon left Cardiff; and, over the mountains by Brecknock and Radnor, passed the Scottish quarters, and came to Ludlow, before that army had any notice of his march.

When the king came first to Ragland, he had sent an express to the prince, by which he wished "that the lord Colepepper, and the chancellor of the exchequer, might, as soon as was possible, attend his majesty." The danger of the way was such, and the passage so difficult, that the messenger came not quickly to his highness. But the chancellor being then unfit to travel by reason of the gout, the lord Colepepper made all possible haste out of Cornwall, where the prince then was, and found his majesty at Cardiff, when he was departing from thence; and waited on him to Brecknock; from whence he was again despatched with this letter to the prince; which, being the first direction the king gave of that nature, is necessary to be here inserted in so many words.

Brecknock, 5th August, 1645.

"Charles,

"It is very fit for me now to prepare for the worst, in order to which I spoke with Colepepper this morning concerning you; judging it fit to give it you under my hand, that you may give the readier obedience to it. Wherefore know that my pleasure is, whensoever you find yourself in apparent danger of falling into the rebels' hands, that you convey yourself into France, and there to be under your mother's care; who is to have the absolute full power of your education in all things, except religion; and in that, not to meddle at all, but leave it entirely to the care of your tutor, the bishop of Salisbury, (or to whom he shall appoint to supply his place, in time of his necessitated absence.)

[1] *Endeavours* to come to no resolution, till there was no choice left.—W.

And for the performance of this, I command you to require the assistance and obedience of all your council; and, by their advice, the service of every one whom you and they shall think fit to be employed in this business; which I expect should be performed, if need require, with all obedience, and without grumbling: this is all at this time, from

"Your loving father, *Charles R.*"

After the lord Goring had lain some time in the ill humour we left him at Barnstable, he entered into correspondence with sir Richard Greenvil; who, he knew well, was as uninclined to the council about the prince as himself; and finding that the enemy troubled him not, but had given him rest, whilst the army was employed upon other important service, they two met privately; and, upon the encouragement and money he received from Greenvil, he writ to the chancellor a very cheerful and a very long letter, bearing date the first of August, in which he inserted several propositions; which, he said, had been framed "upon conference with sir Richard Greenvil; which he desired might be presented to the prince; and if they should be consented to, and confirmed by his highness, he said, he would engage his life, that he would in a very short time have an army of ten or twelve thousand men, that should march whithersoever they should be commanded; and should be in as good order, as any army in the world:" and concluded his letter with these words; "I see some light now of having a brave army very speedily of foot, and I am sending a copy of this enclosed letter to the king, with this profession, that I will be content to lose my life, and my honour, if we do not perform our parts, if these demands be granted."

This letter being presented to his highness, then at Launceston, found so gracious a reception, that the next day, being the second of August, the prince returned him an answer of full consent; and the same day signed all the particulars proposed by him; expressing a further resolution "to add whatever else should be proposed to him, and within his power to grant;" so that there was once more a hope of looking the enemy in the face, and having a fair day for the

west. The next day, or thereabouts, sir Richard Greenvil himself attended the prince, in a seeming good humour; all the propositions were immediately confirmed; some of which were, "that sir Richard Greenvil should receive such a proportion of the contributions of Cornwall, and five thousand pounds of the arrears, for the payment of the officers of the army; and thereupon sir Richard would gather up all the stragglers, who were returned into Cornwall from their colours; who, he said, would amount to three thousand foot, and he would raise three thousand foot more in Devonshire." So he betook himself again to action, sending out his warrants, and levying men and money; having lent two hundred pounds to the lord Goring at their first meeting, and calling the *posse* of Devon to meet at several places, where himself was still present; by which, he pretended, he should speedily recruit the army. But before the end of August, that friendship grew colder; sir Richard observing a better correspondence between the lord Goring and sir John Berkley than he hoped would have been, and hearing that the lord Goring used to mention him very slightly, (which I believe was true,) he writ a very sharp letter to him, in which he said, "he would have no more to do with him." However he continued as active as before, being now in Devon, and then in Cornwall, where he commanded absolutely without any commission, and very seasonably suppressed an insurrection about St. Ives, which might else have grown to a head; and hanged two or three fellows, who, I believe, were guilty enough, by his own order, without any council of war; and raised what money he pleased upon others; then returned to his house at Worrington. And all the vivacity that had so lately appeared in the lord Goring, upon the news of the loss of Sherborne, declined; and then there was nothing, but complaint of want of money, and a proposition to put the army into garrisons; and yet the enemy gave them the same leisure, to pursue the former design, Fairfax being then engaged with his army before Bristol.

As soon as the prince, who was then at Launceston, had read the letter, which the lord Colepepper brought to him from the king, he returned it to the lord Colepepper to keep,

and to communicate to the lords Capel, Hopton, and the chancellor of the exchequer; for it was a very great misfortune, that there was not so good correspondence with the earl of Berkshire (through some jealousies that were infused into him) as was desired; and from the prince's first coming into Cornwall, some of his servants of the best quality,[1] who had from the beginning been discontented, and upon strange pretences thought themselves undervalued that they were not of the council, and, since the king's misfortune at Naseby, expressed their indispositions with more licence, and whispered abroad, "that there was a purpose to carry the prince into France," not that they believed it, but thereby thought to render the council odious and suspected, and had wrought so far upon the earl of Berkshire, that he seemed to believe it too, and thereby they got so much interest in him, that he always communicated whatsoever passed in council to them; so that a letter of so great importance was not thought fit to be communicated to him, nor to the earl of Brentford, who (though he was very kind and just to the other four) was not without his jealousies, and was an ill treasurer of secrets. They[2] were very much troubled at the sight of the letter, not at the command of leaving the kingdom, for, though they had never communicated their thoughts to each other upon that subject before, they found themselves unanimous in the resolution, "that rather than he should be taken by the rebels, they would carry him into any part of the Christian world." For the better doing whereof, from that minute, they took care that there was always a ship ready in the harbour of Falmouth. But it troubled them, "that the king's command was so positive for France, against which they could make to themselves many objections." Besides that, one of the prince's bedchamber, who was newly returned from Paris, brought a letter from the earl of Norwich, then the king's ambassador there, to

[1] *The names originally inserted in the MS. were the earl of Newport, sir Charles Berkeley, Mr. Long, and Mr. Kirton.*

[2] *In the MS. the whole of the following paragraph was originally written in the first person.*

one of the council; in which taking notice of a report there of the prince of Wales's coming thither, he passionately declared against it, "as a certain ruin to the prince;" of which the messenger, by his direction, gave many instances of moment. And they were the more troubled, because the lord Colepepper, who brought that letter from the king, averred, "that he had had no conference with the king upon the argument, but had wholly declined it, as a matter too great for him:" so that they had nothing before them but that letter. After two or three sad debates between themselves, they agreed upon "a letter to be prepared in cipher, presenting their reasons, and what they had been informed concerning France; and therefore offered it to his majesty, whether he would not leave the place to them, or nominate some other, against which so many exceptions might not be made; and proposed Ireland, (if the peace were made there,) or Scotland, if the marquis of Mountrose was as victorious as he was reported to be; withal assuring his majesty, that, in case of danger, they would run any hazard, or into any country, before the prince should fall into the hands of the rebels." This letter, after it was communicated with the prince, as the debates had been, was forthwith sent by an express.

Towards the end of August, the lord Goring, after he had, in all his secret discourses, and in the hours of his jollity, spoken very bitterly of the council about the prince, as the authors of all the miscarriages, sent the lord Wentworth to Launceston to his highness, with certain demands, as he called them, on his behalf; but with direction, "that before he presented them to the prince, he should communicate them to the lord Colepepper, or to the chancellor, and be advised by them, in what manner to present them."

His demands were, and so he styled them, 1. To have a commission to be lieutenant general of all the west, and to command immediately under the prince, garrisons as well as the army, and to be sworn of the council as soon as might be. 2. That all commissions to officers of the army, when his highness is present, be given by the prince; but that his highness should sign none but such as he should prepare for him. 3. That in the prince's absence, he should sign and

grant all commissions; and that, if any governments of towns should fall vacant, he might have the absolute recommendation of those that are to succeed, or, at least, a negative voice. 4. That all designs of consequence should be debated, in the prince's presence, by the prince's council, and such officers of the army as he should choose to assist at it. 5. That the number of the prince's guards should be limited; and many other particulars, which seemed so unreasonable, and unfit to be publicly urged, that the lord Colepepper persuaded the lord Wentworth to suspend the presenting them; "the rather," (as he said,) "because the chancellor was then absent," (being sent by his highness to Pendennis-castle, under pretence of giving some direction in the matter of the customs, but, in truth, to take care that the frigate provided for the prince's transportation might be in readiness, and victuals be privately made ready, to be presently put on board, when the occasion should require,) "and likewise because his highness intended to be shortly at Exeter, where the lord Goring, being present, might better consider and debate his own business;" to the which the lord Wentworth consented:

For the commissioners of Devon had besought his highness to interpose his authority, in the regulating and disposing the army to march towards the relief of Bristol; declaring, "as the posture of it then was, that both that county, and garrisons, must in a short time be as much undone, and lost by them, as by the invasion of the enemy; that all the foot subsisted by, and lived upon, the magazines of the garrisons; and the horse possessed the other part of the country to themselves; and would neither suffer provisions to be brought to the markets, for the replenishing their stores, nor any warrants to be executed for any payments; pretending they were to defend their own quarters; whilst themselves levied what monies they pleased, and committed all sorts of insolences and outrages." And by this means both before in Somersetshire, and afterwards in Devonshire, when the king's army was forced to retire, the enemy found great plenty of provisions in those quarters, where his forces were in danger of starving: as, all about Taunton, there were very

great quantities of corn, when they caused all their bread to be brought out of the stores of Bridgewater and Exeter; which proceeded partly from the negligence and laziness of the officers and soldiers, who would not be at the trouble of threshing out the mows and ricks which were there; but principally by the protection given by the horse; who would not suffer any thing to be carried out of their quarters; and such as sent their provisions to market, were sure to have their money taken from them in their return. Insomuch as it was affirmed by the commissioners of Exeter, "that before the enemy had any quarter within ten miles, there was not so much provision brought into that city in a fortnight, as they spent in a day:" which was only by reason of the disorder of our own horse, general Goring being all this time in Exeter, breaking jests, and laughing at all people, who brought complaints to him; as, one day, when all the fishermen complained to him, "that as they came to the market, they were robbed by his troopers, who took all their fish from them," he said, "that they might by this see what great injury was done to his men, by those who accused them of so great swearing; for if they did swear, you know, (said he) they could catch no fish."

Upon these reasons, and the very earnest desire of the lord Goring and the commissioners, the prince, on Friday the 29th of August, went from Launceston to Exeter in one day; leaving sir Richard Greenvil (who then seemed to be in good humour) to bring up the soldiers in Cornwall, and to hasten his levies in the north and west parts of Devon. The army having now lain still from the beginning of July to the end of August, without the least action, or alarm from the enemy, and so being sufficiently refreshed, and, as their officers said, awakened to a sense and a shame of their former amazements, it was unanimously agreed at a council of war, his highness being present, "that the foot should presently advance to Tiverton; and the horse to the east of Exeter; and that, as soon as sir Richard Greenvil could come up with his men, they should all advance to the relief of Bristol;" which was understood to be in a very good condition; the last messenger that came thence assuring the

prince, as from prince Rupert, that he was sufficiently provided with all necessaries for six months.

There had been, from the time of the first going of the prince into Cornwall, several rumours dispersed, by those who were discontented or angry with the council, "that there was an intent to carry the prince into France;" which begot infinite prejudice to all that was advised. Of this discourse general Goring had made great use, to the disadvantage of all those whom he desired to discredit, which was indeed one of the motives of his highness's journey to Exeter, that he might discountenance that report; which wrought so far amongst the gentlemen of the several western counties, who were resorted thither for safety, that there was a resolution "to petition the prince to interpose between the king and the parliament; and to send a message to the latter with overtures of peace:" and, to that purpose, meetings had been amongst those gentlemen, to agree upon what articles the prince should propose a peace; every man declaring his opinion, what condescension should be in the matter of the church, of the militia, and of Ireland, upon consideration of what had passed at Uxbridge. When my lords of the council heard of these consultations, they apprehended great inconveniences might arise from thence to the king's service, and to the prince's honour; who, by being pressed by their desires and importunities, would lose the honour and thanks of the good success that might attend it: besides that, if he should send any message upon their motion, they would quickly make themselves judges of the matter of it, and so counsellors of what was to be done upon it: and therefore they were all of opinion, "that all endeavours were to be used to divert and prevent any petition of such a nature from being presented to his highness;" which, with great difficulty, was at last prevented.*

* *This conclusion is interlined by lord Clarendon; the sentence having been originally continued as follows:* to which purpose we spake to the governor: and I, observing that sir Peter Ball was very active and solicitous in design, and knowing well his temper, not easily to be contained within modest and prudent bounds, spake one day to my lord Goring, who, I knew, had the absolute power over him, of the business; and told him, that I believed it

Shortly after the prince's coming to Exeter, the lord Goring being not then well, but engaged in a course of physic, desired that he might have a free conference with one of the council in private; in which, he professed he would discover his heart, and whatever had stuck with him. Whereupon, according to appointment, the person he had desired went to him[1] one morning to his lodging; when he caused all persons to withdraw; and wished his servant not to suffer any man to disturb them. When they were by themselves, he began with the discourse of "unkindnesses he had apprehended from the council, and from that person in particular; but confessed he had been deceived and abused by wrong information: that he was now very sensible of the damage that had befallen the public by those private jealousies and mistakes; and desired, that if any thing had indiscreetly or passionately fallen from him, it might be forgotten; and that they might all proceed vigorously in what concerned the king's service; in which he could not receive a better encouragement, than by an assurance of that person's friendship." From this, he discoursed at large "his apprehensions of his brother Porter, of his cowardice, and of his treachery, with very great freedom in many particular instances;" and concluded, "that he resolved to quit himself

might be very counsellable for the prince to send some popular message to Fairfax, whereby a treaty for peace might be procured; but that there could not be a more effectual course taken to render any such overture useless, as by an open and passionate appearance in the country; whereby the propositions would be judged, not to proceed from the prince's piety, but their importunity, and the insolence of the enemy be so much increased, as they would judge so great a party to be cast down and dejected: and therefore I desired him to dissuade sir Peter Ball from having any hand in it. But I quickly found he was privy to the whole design; and, after many arguments, he told me he could not advise him to desist from that which he thought very reasonable to be attempted; and that for his part he saw no hope in any thing but a treaty, nor no way to compass a treaty, but this that was proposed. However, by the governor's great diligence and activity, that course of petitioning or proposing was waved; and the prince himself sent that message to sir Thomas Fairfax, for a safe conduct for the lords Hopton and Colepepper, which was public, and afterwards so much neglected.

[1] Sir Edward Hyde himself.---W.

of him ;" and after two hours spent in those discourses, and in somewhat that concerned his father, in which he said, " he was to receive this person's advice by his father's direction," (it being about the government of Pendennis,) as if he had said all he meant to say, he asked the other negligently, " what he thought of the demands he had sent by the lord Wentworth ?" protesting, " he had no private thoughts, but only an eye to the public service; towards the doing whereof, as the exigents of affairs then stood, he did not think himself sufficiently qualified." The other told him, " that whatever he thought of them would not signify much, being but a single voice in council; by the concurrent advice whereof, he presumed, the prince would govern himself. However, if he would have him tell him his opinion as a friend, he would shew himself so ill a courtier, as to tell it him frankly; which, except he reformed him in his judgment, he should declare where it should be proposed, and, he believed, it would be the opinion of most of the lords, if it were not his." Thereupon he told him very freely and plainly, " that he thought it not fit for the prince to grant, nor seasonable for him to demand; his authority being the same, as to the public, all his orders being obeyed, and the prince giving him the same assistance, as if he were his lieutenant general: that the prince had not hitherto interposed his authority in the governing that army; and therefore, that he conceived it unseasonable, at that time, for his highness to interest himself in the command thereof; which he should do by making him lieutenant general; that the king having directed the prince to make the lord Hopton his lieutenant general, it would not become them to advise the prince to alter that designation, without receiving his majesty's command :" therefore he advised him, " since the alteration was no way necessary, and would inevitably beget much trouble, that he would defer the pressing it, till the king might thoroughly consider, who might probably find some way to satisfy my lord Hopton, and by whose direction and command alone it could be fit to satisfy his lordship. I cannot say he was satisfied with what I said; for he objected many things, and told me, he had reason to believe that all

the council were not of my opinion; and if he could satisfy me, that he was resolved to press the prince in it. I replied, that it might be other men were better courtiers than I, and spake not their opinions so freely to him; (for I well knew my lord Colepepper, who was as far from consenting to those propositions as I was, was yet well contented that my lord Goring should believe otherwise;) who, when it came to be debated, would be of the same mind. However, I told him, he should do well to propose it, and, if there were no more of my mind, he could receive no prejudice by my dissent. He said, he would speak with me again the next day; but I heard no more of it, till I left Exeter.

About the middle of September, the prince being still at Exeter, the news came of the fatal loss of Bristol; which, as all ill accidents did, cast all men on their faces, and damped all the former vigour and activity for a march. However, the former resolutions continued of drawing to Tiverton, and at least of defending those passes, and keeping the enemy from invading Devon: for the better doing whereof, and enabling them to fight, if Fairfax should advance, the prince returned to Launceston; whither he summoned all the trained bands of Cornwall, and an appearance of the whole country; which appeared very cheerfully, and seemed well inclined to march to Tiverton. In the mean time the same negligence and disorder continued in the army, and the lord Goring, with the same licence and unconcernedness, remained at Exeter, to the great scandal of the country, and disheartening of the army. About the latter end of September, his lordship writ a letter to the lord Colepepper; in which he remembered him of the propositions formerly sent by the lord Wentworth to Launceston; and recounted at large, but very unjustly, the discourse which had passed between the other counsellor and him, at Exeter, upon that subject; in which he charged the other with answers very far from those he had received from him; and desired his lordship, "that, by his means, he might know positively what he was to trust to;" and concluded, "that, without such a commission as he desired, he could not be answerable for the mutinies and disorders of the army." Whereupon, his highness, upon full consideration of the mischiefs

that would attend his service, if he should consent to the matter of those demands, or comply with the manner of the demanding, sent him word, by the lord Capel, "that he would not for the present grant any such commission;" and wished him "to pursue the former counsels and resolutions, in advancing towards the enemy; all things being in a good forwardness in Cornwall to second him." And so there was no further pressing that overture; however, he presumed to write himself, in all his warrants, and treaties with the commissioners, and in some proclamations which he printed, "General of the west."

The sudden and unexpected loss of Bristol was a new earthquake in all the little quarters the king had left, and no less broke all the measures which had been taken, and the designs which had been contrived, than the loss of the battle of Naseby had done. The king had made haste from Ludlow, that the Scottish army might no more be able to interrupt him; and with very little rest passed through Shropshire and Derbyshire, till he came to Wellbeck, a house of the marquis of Newcastle in Nottinghamshire, where was then a garrison for his majesty; where he refreshed himself, and his troops, two days; and, as far as any resolution was fixed in those days, the purpose was, "to march directly into Scotland, to join with the marquis of Mountrose;" who had, upon the matter, reduced that whole kingdom. During his majesty's short stay at Wellbeck, the governor of Newark, with the commissioners for Nottingham and Lincoln, repaired to him, as likewise all those gentlemen of Yorkshire who had been in Pontefract-castle, (which, after a long and worthy defence, was lately, for pure want of all kind of provisions, surrendered upon good conditions; whereby, "all the soldiers had liberty to repair to their own houses, and might live quietly there,") whereupon the gentlemen assured the king, "they were as ready as ever to serve him, when they should be required." Whether the natural irresolution of those about the king, or the imagination, upon this report[1] of the gentlemen, that a body

[1] This is chiefly to be charged on lord Digby; for the fertility of his *imagination* occasioned his *irresolution*.—W.

of foot might be speedily gathered together in those parts, (which was enough encouraged by the cheerfulness of all the gentlemen of the several counties,) prevailed upon them, but the king was persuaded, "that it was not best to continue his march, with that strictness which he intended, towards Mountrose; but that it would be better to send an express to him, to agree upon a fit place for their meeting; and in the mean time, his majesty might be able to refresh his wearied troops, and to raise a body of foot in those parts." To which purpose, Doncaster was proposed as a fit place to begin in: and to Doncaster, thereupon, the king went; and the gentlemen so well performed their undertaking, that, within three days, there was an appearance of full three thousand foot;[1] who undertook, within four and twenty hours, to appear well armed, and ready to march with his majesty, what way soever he would go.

Here again the king's froward fortune deprived him of this opportunity to put himself into a posture of war. That very night, they received intelligence, "that David Lesley was come to Rotheram with all the Scottish horse;" which was within ten miles of Doncaster. The news whereof so confounded them, (as beaten and baffled troops do not naturally, in a short time, recover courage enough to endure the sight of an enemy,) that they concluded "he came in pursuit of the king, and therefore that it was now too late to pursue their northern expedition, and that the king must speedily remove to a greater distance for his own security." Whereupon, he made haste (without expecting that recruit of foot) from Doncaster, back again to Newark; resolving then to go directly to Oxford; whereas, David Lesley knew nothing of the king's being in those parts; but, upon sudden orders from Scotland, was required to march, with all possible expedition, with the horse, to relieve his own country from being totally overrun and subdued by the marquis of Mountrose; who had

[1] The royal resources, even after the loss at Naseby, were so many and powerful, that there only wanted a great king, who could be his own general, to retrieve the game; such a one as Charles's father-in-law, Henry IV.—W.

then actually taken Edinburgh. The orders no sooner came to the army before Hereford, but he begun his march, without the least apprehension of any enemy in his way, till he should come into Scotland; and so, as he had made a very long march that day, he came tired and wearied with his troops that night into Rotheram. And he confessed afterwards, "if the king had then fallen upon him, as he might easily have done, he had found him in a very ill posture to have made resistance, and had absolutely preserved Mountrose." But by his so sudden retreat, David Lesley was at liberty to pursue his march for Scotland, and came upon Mountrose, before he expected such an enemy; and so prevented his future triumph, that he was compelled with great loss to retire again into the Highlands; and Lesley returned time enough to relieve and support the Scottish army, when they were compelled to rise from Hereford.

The king with wonderful expedition, prosecuted his journey to Oxford, though not without making some starts out of the way; by which he had opportunity to beat up some quarters of new levied horse for the service of the parliament; and, before the end of August, he arrived at Oxford; where he did not stay more than two days, but departed from thence again to Worcester, with a resolution to attempt the relief of Hereford; which had defended itself bravely, and very much weakened the Scottish army by frequent sallies. They had only a body of eight hundred tired horse, which David Lesley left behind him when he marched with the rest into Scotland; and therefore the raising that siege was thought the less difficult; and with this resolution his majesty left Oxford the third day after he came thither. And upon his arrival at Ragland, he was certainly informed, "that Fairfax had besieged Bristol;" for which nobody underwent any trouble; for all men looked upon that place as well fortified, manned, and victualled; and the king even then received a very cheerful letter from prince Rupert; in which, "he undertook to defend it full four months." So that the siege being begun so late in the year as the beginning of September, there was reasonable hope that the army might be ruined, before the town taken. Therefore the king prosecuted his former re-

solution, at least to endeavour the relief of Hereford. And as he was upon his march thither, he received intelligence, "that the Scottish army, upon the notice of his purpose, was that morning risen in great disorder and confusion, and resolved to make their retreat on the Welsh side of the river, and so to pass through Gloucester." This news was so welcome, and his majesty was received with so full joy into the city of Hereford, that there was not the opportunity embraced to discommode at least, if not to ruin the Scots army ;[1] which now passed through a strange country, where they had never been, and where the whole nation was extremely odious to the people. Nor would the governor of Gloucester suffer them to pass through his garrison, till they sent him word plainly, "that if they might not pass through that town, they knew they should be very welcome to pass through Worcester ;" by which argument he was convinced and converted; so that he permitted them to go through that town, from whence they prosecuted their march into the north. And if, in all this time, they had been pursued by the king's horse, considering the small body they had of their own, there is little doubt to be made very many, if not the greater part of that army, had been destroyed.

But the king's heart was now so wholly set upon the relief of Bristol,[2] and nothing else was thought upon, which might in any degree delay it. And so the king, from Hereford, advertised prince Rupert, "that he had raised the siege of Hereford, and that the Scots were marched northward ; that he intended speedily to relieve him ; and in order to it, that he had then commanded general Goring, to draw what force he could out of the west ; and to march to the Somersetshire side of Bristol ; and that his majesty would himself have a body of three thousand foot, drawn out of the several garrisons of those parts, which should pass over the Severn, about

[1] i. e. the king suffered himself to be amused with the pageantry of a rejoicing from the mayor and aldermen of Hereford, when he should have been pursuing the disheartened Scotch army.—W.

[2] As if those two things interfered, but something was to be said to cover the king's ill conduct.—W.

Berkley-castle,[1] on Gloucestershire side; and that his horse, which were then above three thousand, should at the same time ford the Severn not far from Gloucester," (as they might easily have done,) "and so join with his foot; and by this means, all things being well concerted, they might hopefully fall on Fairfax's quarters on both sides." And the better to bring all this to pass, the king himself went the second time to Ragland, the house of the marquis of Worcester; sending the horse to those several places, as might best facilitate the execution of the design that was formed for the relief of Bristol.

But when the king came to Ragland, he received the terrible information of the surrender of Bristol, which he so little apprehended, that if the evidence thereof had not been unquestionable, it could never have been believed. With what consternation, and dejection of mind, the king received this advertisement, needs no other description and enlargement, than the setting down, in the very words of it, the letter which the king writ thereupon to prince Rupert; which, considering the unspeakable indulgence his majesty had ever shewed towards that prince,[2] is sufficient evidence, how highly he was offended and incensed by that act; which yet he took some time sadly to think of, and consider, before he would give himself to abate so much of his natural candour towards him. As soon as he received that surprising intelligence, he presently removed from Ragland, and returned to Hereford, which was the post he chose to enter upon new considerations of the desperateness of the condition he was in, and to enter upon new consultations. To that purpose, he sent orders "for all the officers, and their troops, which had been sent into Shropshire, Worcestershire, and South Wales, to provide for the relief of Bristol, to at-

[1] His original says *Beadily*, which I believe is right.—W.

[2] Was this a proper treatment of a licentious soldier of fortune, whose service he accepted in a war with his parliament, where each party was to conciliate the affections of the people by the exactest discipline? on such occasion no *indulgence* should have been given to the licentious temper of an insolent young prince.—W.

tend him there." And as soon as he came to Hereford, he despatched an express with this letter to prince Rupert.

Hereford, 14*th Sept.* 1645.

"Nephew,

"Though the loss of Bristol be a great blow to me, yet your surrendering it as you did, is of so much affliction to me, that it makes me not only forget the consideration of that place, but is likewise the greatest trial of my constancy that hath yet befallen me; for what is to be done, after one that is so near me as you are, both in blood and friendship, submits himself to so mean an action? (I give it the easiest term) such—I have so much to say, that I will say no more of it: only, lest rashness of judgment be laid to my charge, I must remember you of your letter of the 12th of August, whereby you assured me, that, if no mutiny happened, you would keep Bristol for four months. Did you keep it four days? Was there any thing like a mutiny? More questions might be asked, but now, I confess, to little purpose: my conclusion is, to desire you to seek your subsistence, until it shall please God to determine of my condition, somewhere beyond seas; to which end I send you herewith a pass; and I pray God to make you sensible of your present condition, and give you means to redeem what you have lost; for I shall have no greater joy in a victory, than a just occasion without blushing to assure you of my being

"Your loving uncle, and most faithful friend,

"C. R."

With this letter, the king sent a revocation of all commissions formerly granted to prince Rupert, and signified his pleasure to the lords of the council at Oxford, whither prince Rupert was retired with his troops from Bristol, "that they should require prince Rupert to deliver into their hands his commission." And whether the king had really some apprehension that he might make some difficulty in giving it up, and make some disorder in Oxford, or whether it was the effect of other men's counsels, his majesty, at the same time, sent a warrant likewise for the present imprisonment

of colonel Leg, (who was governor of Oxford,) as a person much in the prince's favour, and therefore like to be subservient to any of his commands. But this circumstance of rigour made the other judgment upon the prince thought to be over sudden, "that he should be made the first example of the king's severity, when so many high enormities and miscarriages of others had passed without being called in question." And as nobody suspected the prince's want of duty in submitting to the king's pleasure, so colonel Leg was generally believed to be a man of that entire loyalty to the king, that he was above all temptations: this circumstance of committing the governor, made the other to be likewise suspected to be more the effect of the power of some potent adversaries, than the effect of the king's own rigour.

When the prince came to Launceston from Exeter, (which was about the middle of September,) after the loss of Bristol, and the motion of the enemy inclined westward, it was then thought fit to draw all the trained bands of Cornwall to Launceston, and as many of them as could be persuaded, to march eastward; it being agreed at Exeter, "that, if the enemy gave time, the force of both counties (save what was necessary to be continued at Plymouth) should be drawn to Tiverton, and, upon that pass, to fight with the rebels;" for the better compassing whereof, it was ordered, "that sir Richard Greenvil should command all the Cornish trained bands, to which should be added his own three regiments, which he had carried to Taunton;" and which took themselves to be so disobliged, both officers and soldiers, (as in truth they were,) by the lord Goring, that they were absolutely disbanded, and could by no other means be gotten together, but upon assurance that they should be commanded by sir Richard Greenvil. Things being thus settled, Greenvil seemed well satisfied, having all the respect and encouragement from the prince that could be, or was desired; and without any other indisposition, than that, once in two or three days, he would write a letter either to the prince himself, the lords, or Mr. Fanshaw, extolling himself, and reproaching the lord Goring's plundering horse, and sometimes sir John Berkley; in all which he used a very marvellous licence.

I forgot to mention that at the prince's going to Exeter, sir John Berkley had desired, "that, in respect his continual presence would be necessary at Exeter, since the enemy apparently looked that way, his highness would dispose the command of the forces before Plymouth to such a person as he thought fit; who might diligently attend that service." There was a general inclination to have remitted again sir Richard Greenvil to that charge, which it was visible he looked for: but there were three great objections against it; the first, the pretence that general Digby had to that command; to whom it originally belonged; and both he, and the earl of Bristol, expected it upon this alteration; he being at that time so well recovered in his health, that he was well able to execute the command: the next, that if it should be offered to Greenvil, he would insist upon such assignations of contributions, as would be impossible to consent to with the subsistence of the army and the garrisons: the last and the greatest was, that the whole design being now to draw such a body together, as might give the rebels battle, this could not be without the Cornish trained bands, and those other soldiers, who had run from their colours; neither of which would march without sir Richard Greenvil; and it was apparent, if he went to Plymouth, those old soldiers would go to him. Besides, his experience and activity was then thought most necessary to the marching army; where there was a great dearth of good officers. Hereupon, it was resolved, that general Digby should again resume the charge at Plymouth, but upon any extraordinary occasion, and advance of the enemy, he was to receive orders from sir Richard Greenvil; and accordingly, upon sir Richard Greenvil's advancing into Devon, and fixing a quarter at Okington, Digby was ordered so to do; which he observed accordingly.

In the beginning of October, the lord Goring persuaded the commissioners of Devon, upon his promise to punish and suppress all disorders in the soldiery, and that the markets should be free, "to double the contribution of the county for six weeks, and to assign half thereof to his army;" by virtue whereof he raised vast sums of money; but abated

nothing of the former disorders and pressures: and the money so raised, instead of being regularly distributed amongst the soldiers, was disposed to such persons as he thought fit by his warrants to direct. But no sooner was sir Thomas Fairfax advanced as far as Cullampton, than the lord Goring gave over the thought of defending Devon, and, by his letter of the eleventh of October to the lord Colepepper, said, "that he had sent all the horse, but one thousand, westward, under the command of the major general, to join with the Cornish; who were to advance; and that himself, with one thousand horse, and all his foot, resolved to stay in Exeter to defend that town, if the enemy came before it; or to be ready to attend their rear, if they marched forward;" and therefore desired, "that his highness would appoint whom he thought fit, to give orders to the lord Wentworth, his major general, who was prepared not to dispute orders sent by any substituted by the prince." Hereupon, the prince had appointed sir Richard Greenvil "to advance with the Cornish to Okington," and directed the major general "to receive orders from him:" but, by that time they two had disposed their business into order, as they did very handsomely and cheerfully, general Goring changed his mind, and, within four days after his former letter, he retired with his thousand horse out of Exeter to Newton Bushell; and then sent to the prince, by a letter to the lord Colepepper, to know "whether sir Richard Greenvil should receive orders from him; and offered to undertake any design with sir Richard Greenvil, or by himself, as the prince should direct; or that if his presence and command should be thought, on the account of any indisposition in the Cornish towards him, probable to produce any inconvenience to the service, he would willingly, for that expedition, resign his command to any person the prince would design for it:" intimating withal, "that if the lord Hopton had it, the lord Wentworth would willingly receive orders from him." His highness, the next day, writ to him, "that he committed the management of the whole to his lordship; and had commanded sir Richard Greenvil to receive orders from him, who had then

a good body of Cornish with him, and power to draw off the men from Plymouth, if there should be occasion."

The king's having been in that perpetual motion, as hath been mentioned before, kept the express that had been sent to him from the counsellors, upon the first signification of his pleasure concerning the prince's transportation into France, from delivering that letter for some time. So that it was the middle of October before they received his majesty's further direction. Then this letter to the lord Colepepper was brought back by the same express.

"*Chirke Castle*, 29 *Sep.* 1645.

"Colepepper,

"I have seen and considered your despatches; and for this time you must be content with results without the reasons, leaving you to find them: lord Goring must break through to Oxford with his horse, and from thence, if he can, find me out, wheresoever he shall understand I shall be; the region about Newark being, as I conceive, the most likeliest place. But that which is of more necessity, indeed absolute, is, that, with the best conveniency, the most secrecy, and greatest expedition, prince Charles be transported into France; where his mother is to have the sole care of him,[1] in all things but one, which is his religion; and that must still be under the care of the bishop of Salisbury; and this I undertake his mother shall submit unto: concerning which, by my next despatch, I will advertise her; this is all; so I rest

"Your most assured friend, *Charles R.*"

To which there was a postscript in these words: "*C. R.* For lord Goring's business, though I wish it, I cannot say it is absolutely practicable; but for my son's, that is of necessity to be done; yet for the way, I leave it to your discretion, having already with you, as I conceive, as much power in paper as I can give you. France must be the place, not Scotland, nor Denmark. *C. R.*"

[1] The uxorious monarch had apparently promised this to his wife. So the reasons of the counsellors went for nothing.—W.

Though this letter was writ after the loss of Bristol, yet when it arrived, the hopes of the west were not thought desperate; and it was absolutely concluded between the lords, "that, as the person of the prince was never to be in hazard of being surprised, so he was not to be transported out of the king's dominions, but upon apparent, visible necessity, in point of safety:" and the very suspicion of his going had been, both by the lord Goring and others, enviously whispered, to the great disheartening of the people; so that (besides that an unseasonable attempt of going might have been disappointed) they saw that the loss of the whole west, both garrisons and army, would immediately have attended that action; and therefore they thought, they should be absolved, in point of duty, by the king, if they only preserved themselves in a power of obeying him, without executing his command at that time; especially since general Goring thought it not reasonable to observe the orders, which were sent to him at the same time, for marching towards the king, nor so much as advised with his highness, or communicated that he had received any such orders; and yet his highness let him know, "that he was well content, that he should break through with his horse to the king;" which he might have done.

The enemy, having gained Tiverton, made no great haste to the west of Exeter, but spent their time in fortifying some houses near the town, on the east side, without receiving the least disturbance from the army; the lord Goring entertaining himself in his usual jollity between Exeter, Totness, and Dartmouth; it being publicly spoken in Exeter, "that the lord Goring intended to leave the army, and speedily to go beyond seas, and that lieutenant general Porter resolved to go to the parliament;" long before the prince understood general Goring's resolution to go into France, from any intimation from himself. The twentieth of November, his lordship writ a letter from Exeter to the prince by the lord Wentworth, "that, now that the enemy and his lordship were settled in their winter quarters," (whereas the enemy was then as stirring as ever,) "he did beg leave of his highness to spend some time, for the recovery of his health, in

France;" intimating, "that he hoped to do his highness some notable service by that journey;" and desired, "that his army might remain entirely under the command of the lord Wentworth" (whereas, not above a fortnight before, he had writ "that the lord Wentworth was very willing to receive orders from the lord Hopton") "until his return; which, he said, should be in two months;" and so having despatched the lord Wentworth with this letter to the prince to Truro, his lordship, never attending his highness's leave or approbation, went the same, or the next day, to Dartmouth; where he stayed no longer than till he could procure a passage into France; whither, with the first wind, he was transported; lieutenant general Porter, at the same time, declining the exercise of his command, and having received several messages, letters, and a pass from the enemy for his going to London. After the knowledge whereof, general Goring signed a warrant for the levying two hundred pounds upon the country: Dr. Frazier told me, that the lord Wentworth, at the time of his being then at Truro, told him, "that the lord Goring intended to return no more to the army, or into England; but relied upon him to preserve the horse from being engaged, till he could procure a licence from the parliament to transport them, for the service of a foreign prince, which would be a fortune to the officers." And the major general (who is a very worthy person) told me afterwards at Launceston, "that he could not understand the lord Goring; for that, at his going from the army, he gave the officers great charge to preserve their regiments, for he had hope to get leave to transport them;" and within few days after he arrived at Paris, he sent captain Porridge into England, to fetch all his saddle horses, and horses of service, upon pretence that he was to present them in France; though at the same time he assured his friends, "that he was returning speedily with men and money;" which was not the more believed by his sending for his horses.

Though there had been no great modesty used in the discourses of the people towards general Goring, from the time of his first fastening in the west, especially of the Cornish, whom he had most unskilfully irreconciled to him, by his con-

tinual neglects and contempts of them, (as he would usually before Taunton, when he viewed his foot, clap an Irishman, or one of those soldiers who came out of Ireland, who doubtless were good men, on the shoulders, and tell him, in the hearing of the rest, "that he was worth ten Cornish cowards," the greatest part of his present strength, and all his future hopes depending upon the Cornish, many whereof had reason to believe themselves not inferior to any who had served the king,) yet from the time that he left the army, and went for France, they gave themselves a greater licence; and declared, "that he had, from the beginning, combined with the rebels; and having wasted and ruined all the supplies which had been sent him, had now left a dissolute and odious army to the mercy of the enemy, and to a county more justly incensed, and consequently more merciless than they. They compared the loss of Weymouth, in the view of his army, after he had been in the town, and when the whole direction was in him, with the counter-scuffle at Petherton-bridge, when two of his own parties, pursuing the orders they had received, fought with each other, whilst the enemy retired to their own strengths: they remembered the voluntary, wanton, incensing the country; the discountenancing the garrison of Lamport, and dissolving it; the eating the provisions of the rest; the cherishing the club-men; and the lying with his whole army before Taunton full six weeks, (after he had declared the enemy to be in his mercy, within six days,) and in that time (pretending that he would in few days starve them) he suffered great quantities of provisions to be carried into them, through his own quarters, and several interviews and private meetings to be by his brother Porter (whose integrity he had before suspected) and the chief officers of the rebels: the neglecting his body of foot, during the time that he lay before Taunton, by which he suffered above two thousand to run away. They talked of the beating up his head quarter the day before the rout at Lamport at noon-day, for which no man was ever called to a council of war; and that total rout at Lamport, as two of the most supine and unsoldierly defeats, that were ever known; before which, or in those straits, or upon

any other occasions of advice, that he never called a council of war to consider what was to be done; and in that last business of Lamport, himself was so far from being present, that coming in great disorder to Bridgewater, he said, he had lost his foot and cannon; which indeed were brought off entirely by the care and diligence of the lord Wentworth and sir Joseph Wagstaff. They talked of his unheard of negligence of the army, after that retreat from Bridgewater, insomuch as of between three and four thousand foot, which himself confessed he had after that business, (and, if his loss had been no greater than he owned, must have been a far greater number,) within sixteen days, he had not thirteen hundred, nor ever after recovered a man, but what was gotten up by the activity and authority of the prince. Lastly, they remembered his lying in Devonshire from the beginning of July, which was about the time of his retreat from Lamport, to the end of November, when he went to France, (which was five months,) with a body of above four thousand horse and foot, which had been, and by his care might easily have been made, at least equal; destroying and irreconciling the country to the king and the cause, without making the least attempt, or in any degree looking after the enemy; whilst the rebels, by formal sieges, took in the garrisons of Bridgewater, Sherborne, and Bristol, and many other lesser and important holds."

Upon the whole matter, comparing his words and his actions, laying his doing and his not doing together, they concluded, "that if he had been confederate with the enemy, and been corrupted to betray the west, he could not have taken a more effectual way to do it; since he had not interest enough by any overt act to have put it into their power;" and therefore they who had a greater opinion of his wit, courage, and conduct, than of his conscience and integrity, presumed the failing was in the latter; towards which opinion they were the more inclined, by many discourses negligently let fall by the enemy in their quarters, "that they were sure enough of Goring;" and by sir Thomas Fairfax's applying himself to the taking those strong places after the rout at Lamport, without ever considering or look-

ing after the lord Goring's army; which, he could not but know, consisted of a body of horse, equal in number to his own; and had reason to apprehend those two populous counties of Devon and Cornwall could quickly recruit the foot; "which negligence (said they) Fairfax could never be guilty of, if he had not been well assured, that those forces should work them no inconvenience;" besides that, being unpursued, Goring might easily have made an escape, and joined with the king, and so have diverted all the enemy's designs upon the west.

But others, who were not enough in love with the lord Goring, to desire to be joined with him in any trust, yet in their opinions clearly absolved him from any combination with the enemy, or design of treachery, and imputed the slow managing the business, at his first coming into the west, and overslipping some opportunities of advantage, to his desire of being settled in that command, and so not making haste, lest, the work being done, he might be necessitated to leave those parts, and be called to the king; for, without doubt, though there was a reconciliation made between him and prince Rupert to that degree, that all the countenance general Goring received from court in prejudice of the prince's authority, and of his council, was procured for him purely by his highness; who in one of his letters to him, at such time as he was before Taunton, used these words; "what you desire in your letter, on the twenty-second of May, shall be observed;' and assure yourself that prince Rupert shall maintain general Goring's honour and power, and shall lose his life, rather than general Goring shall suffer for prince Rupert;" which letter (as he did any others, which he received from his majesty, or the secretaries, in cipher) he communicated to the company in all his acts of good fellowship; yet, I say, it was very evident, he was resolved never to be in the same army with prince Rupert

[1] A couple of precious generals, who, when they had, by their ill conduct, drove their master on the brink of the precipice, instead of joining all their endeavours to bring him safely off, were caballing together to support one another's power to the destruction of their master's small remaining hopes.---W.

under his command; and all his loose and scandalous speeches they imputed to an innate licence he had always given himself; and his gross and unfortunate oversights, to the laziness and unactivity of his nature; which could better pursue, and make advantages upon good successes, than struggle and contend with difficulties and straits. And they who had been nearest the observation found a great difference between the presentness of his mind and vivacity in a sudden attempt, though never so full of danger, and an enterprise that required more deliberation, and must be attended with patience, and a steady circumspection; as if his mind could not be long bent. And therefore he had been observed to give over a game, sooner than gamesters that have been thought to have less fire. Many other passages must be attributed to his perfect hatred of all the persons of the council, after he found they would not comply with his desires, and to his particular ambition; and both those passions of ambition and revenge might transport his nature beyond any limits. But what he meant by his discourse at parting to the officers, for the keeping the horse for the service of some foreign prince, was never understood, except he did really believe, that he should shortly return with a body of foot; and so, that they should not be forward to engage with the enemy, or else to keep such a dependence upon him from the officers, that they should always hope for employment under him.

Whilst sir Richard Greenvil stayed at Okington, he had several strange designs; which he always communicated to the prince, or lords, in writing; one of which was, "to cut a deep trench from Barnstable to the south sea, for the space of near forty miles; by which, he said, he would defend all Cornwall, and so much of Devon, against the world;" and many such impossible undertakings; at which they who understood matters of that nature thought him besides himself. Notwithstanding the trained bands of Cornwall returned to their homes, (having stayed out their month; which was their first contract,) sir Richard Greenvil stayed still at Okington, with his three regiments of old soldiers, having barricadoed the town; the pass being of very great importance to hinder

the enemy from any communication with Plymouth. And indeed the reputation of his being there with a greater strength than in truth he had at any time, was a great means of keeping the rebels on the east side of Exeter; as appears by their sudden advance, as soon as he removed from that post; which he did about the end of November, without giving the least advice to the prince of such his purpose, and contrary to the express desire of the lords Capel and Colepepper, who were then at Exeter, and, hearing of his resolution, had written to him very earnestly "not to remove." He suddenly retired with his three regiments from Okington into Cornwall, and mustered his men upon the river Tamar, that divides Cornwall from Devon, with express command "to guard the passes, and not to suffer any of the lord Goring's men, upon what pretence or warrant soever, to come into Cornwall." For the better doing whereof, he caused the country to come in to work at their bridges and passes, as he had done before, most impertinently, for the fortifying of Launceston; and caused proclamations, and orders of his own, to be read throughout Cornwall, in the churches, "that if any of the lord Goring's forces" (whom in those writings he charged with all the odious reproaches for plundering) "should offer to come into Cornwall, they should ring the bells, and thereupon the whole county should rise, and beat them out;" by these unheard of and unwarrantable means, preparing the country to such a hatred of the lord Goring, and his forces, that they rather desired the company of the rebels; so alienating all men's spirits, from resisting of the enemy; and all this without so much as communication with the prince, till it was executed.

About the last week of November, he came himself to Truro to the prince, on the same day that his highness had received letters from the lords at Exeter, of the extreme ill consequence of sir Richard Greenvil's drawing off from Okington; upon encouragement whereof, a strong party of the enemy was come to Kirton. Whereupon his highness sent for sir Richard Greenvil; and, in council, acquainted him with those letters, and other intelligence that he had received of the enemy, and desired him to consider what was now to be

done. The next day, without attending his highness any more, but returning to his house at Worrington, he writ a long letter to Mr. Fanshaw of his advice, which he desired might be communicated to the lords; which was, "that his highness should send to the parliament for a treaty, and should offer, if he might enjoy the revenue of the duchy of Cornwall, and that they would not advance to disturb him in that county, that he would not attempt any thing upon them, but that they should enjoy the freedom of all their ports in Cornwall for trade, without any disturbance by his majesty's ships:" and so, in plain English, to sit still a neuter between the king and the parliament, at a time when there was a body of horse superior to the enemy in those parts; and when an equal proportion of foot might have been gotten together; and when his majesty had not the face of an army in any other part of England. The prince was very much troubled at this letter, and the more, because he found sir Richard Greenvil had contracted a great friendship with such of his highness's servants, as he had reason to believe less zealous and intent upon the honour and prosperity of the king; and because he had discovered he laboured very much to infuse a jealousy into the governor of Pendennis-castle, "that the prince intended to remove him from that command, and to confer it upon the lord Hopton;" to which purpose he had written to the governor from Okington, (when the lord Hopton, and the chancellor, were sent down thither to assist him in the fortifying and supplying that castle; which if they had not done, it would not have held out, as it did afterwards,) "that the lord Hopton had a commission to take that charge from him; but that he should not suffer such an affront to be put upon him; for he, and all his friends, would stick to him in it:" whereas there was never the least thought or intention to make any alteration in that government.

Shortly after that letter of the twenty-seventh, sir Richard Greenvil writ again to Mr. Fanshaw, to know how his propositions were approved; to which, by direction, he returned, "that the council had not been yet together since the receipt of them; the lords Capel and Colepepper being not then returned from Exeter; and that therefore it had not been yet

debated." He proceeded in the mean time in his fortifications there, and, about the middle of December, the prince continuing at Truro, he sent several letters to the gentlemen of the county, "to meet him at Launceston:" one of which letters I saw, to colonel Richard Arundel; in which, "he desired him to bring as many gentlemen, and others of ability, as he could, as well the disaffected, as well affected; for that he intended to communicate to them some propositions, which he had formerly preferred to the prince, and though they were not hearkened to there, he believed would be very acceptable to his countrymen of Cornwall;" but the prince's sudden going to Tavistock disappointed that meeting.

Shortly after the lord Goring's going into France, the prince, being informed from Exeter, "that the enemy, at the same time having finished their works, which kept the city from any relief on the east side, were now drawing their forces to the west side, whereby that city would be speedily distressed;" thought it necessary to send the lords Brentford, Capel, Hopton, and Colepepper, to confer with the lord Wentworth; who lay then at Ashburton, six miles from Totness, and with sir Richard Greenvil, who was ready to draw some foot into Devon, to the end that such an understanding might be settled between them two, that the service might proceed: their lordships being directed, by instructions under his highness's hand, upon consideration of the state of the forces, and conference with the lord Wentworth, and sir Richard Greenvil, to advise what speedy course should be taken for the relief of Exeter, (the prince having at the same time disbursed a thousand pound ready money to two merchants of Exeter, for provision of corn for that city,) presuming that both the one and the other would have been very ready to have received and followed the advice which their lordships should give.

The place of meeting was appointed to be Tavistock, where every body was, save the lord Wentworth; but he failing, the lords, having directed sir Richard Greenvil how to dispose of himself, went themselves to Ashburton, near twenty miles further, to the lord Wentworth's quarter; where they spent a day or two, but found not that respect from him

they had reason to have expected. His lordship was very jealous of diminution in his command, which general Goring had devolved to him, and expressing himself oftentimes to them very unnecessarily, "that he would receive orders from none but the prince himself;" whereupon, and upon the importunate calling for relief from Exeter, their lordships "thought it absolutely necessary, that the prince himself should advance in person, as well to bring up as great a body of the Cornish as was possible, (which without his presence was not to be hoped for,) as to dispose the command of the whole forces in such manner, as might probably be for the best advantage; the best that was to be hoped for being to bring the enemy to fight a battle; and to be enabled to that purpose, by joining with the foot that were in Exeter; which was very hopeful." For the conducting so great a design, upon which no less than three crowns depended, the lord Wentworth could not be thought of interest, experience, or reputation enough; and yet there was so great regard, that he should not suffer in his honour, or the imaginary trust devolved to him by general Goring, or rather indeed that no notable hazard might be run, by any unnecessary mutation in commands, at a time when the soldier was to be led to fight, that it was resolved, "that he should be rather advised than commanded; and that if he comported himself with that temper and modesty, as was expected, all resolutions should be formed in council, and all orders thereupon should issue in his own name."

The next day after Christmas day, the weather being fitter for a fire than a march, the prince went from Truro to Bodmin; and the next day to Tavistock; where the lords of the council attended; the lord Wentworth continuing at Ashburton, and his horse spread over that part of the country which was at any distance from the enemy. Sir Richard Greenvil, who attended likewise at Tavistock, had sent three regiments of foot to Okington, under the command of major general Molesworth; which were secured by the brigade of horse under major general Web, who was quartered near those parts, and the Cornish trained bands were to come up within a week; the blockade before Plymouth was maintain-

tained by general Digby, with about twelve or thirteen hundred foot, and six hundred horse; but the whole contribution assigned for the support of those forces was taken by the lord Wentworth's horse; so that the prince was compelled to supply those men, out of the magazines of victual which he had provided in Cornwall for the army when it should march; and to leave his own guard of horse upon the skirts of Cornwall; there being no quarter to be had for them nearer his own person.

Sir Thomas Fairfax quartered at a house about two miles east of Exeter, sir Hardress Waller with a brigade of his army at Kirton, and another part of the army had possessed Powdram-house, and the church, Hulford-house, and some other holds on the west-side; so that no provisions went in, and it hath been said before, how long the army under Goring had subsisted upon the provisions within, and kept all supply from entering: the advice taken at Tavistock, upon the prince's coming thither, was, "that as soon as the Cornish foot should be come up, his highness should march with those, his own guards, and as many foot as might conveniently be taken from before Plymouth, by leaving horse in their place, to Totness; where a magazine should be made of provisions for the whole army, both by money (for which the county would yield great store of provisions) and by victuals brought out of Cornwall by sea;" for which likewise directions were given: "from that place it was concluded, that the prince might join with the forces in Exeter, except the rebels should draw their whole body between them; and then that garrison would be able both to relieve itself, and to infest the enemy in the rear; and the prince might retire, or fight, as he found it most convenient and advantageous to him." Resolutions being thus fixed, and the Cornish being not expected in full numbers till the week following, the prince chose to go to Totness; where all things necessary might be agreed with the lord Wentworth, who might conveniently attend there, his quarters being within six miles; and where directions might be given for making the magazine, towards which 400*l.* had been returned out of Cornwall.

The next day after the prince came thither, the lord Wentworth attended him, and was informed in council, what had been thought reasonable at Tavistock; the which he approved of: the prince then called to see a list of the quarters, that thereupon it might be agreed how the whole army should be quartered when they came together; to which end, the next day the lord Wentworth brought the quarter master general Pinkney, who indeed governed him. At the first council, the lord Wentworth told the prince, "that he was to declare one thing to him, at the entrance into business, and for the prevention of any mistakes, that he could receive no orders from any person but his highness; the lord Goring having reposed that trust in him, and given him a commission and instructions to that purpose;" which he often repeated afterwards in council; and, in the debate of quartering, talked very imperiously, and very disrespectfully, and one day, after he had been drinking, very offensively to some of the council, in the presence of the prince. The time was not conceived seasonable for the prince to declare how the army should be commanded, till he had brought it together, and till he had his own guards about him; and so the prince, though he was nothing satisfied in the lord Wentworth's carriage, only told him, "that he would take the command of the army upon himself, and issue out orders as he should think fit;" and having visited the port and garrison of Dartmouth, and taken sufficient course for the providing the magazines, and settled the differences about quartering, he returned to Tavistock; resolving, with all possible expedition, to march with the whole body of foot to Totness, according to former appointment.

The day before the prince begun his journey to Tavistock, he received a letter from the king his father, dated upon the seventh of November, in these words:

Oxford, 7th of November, 1645.

"Charles,

"I leave others to tell you the news of these parts, which are not so ill, as, I believe, the rebels would make you believe: that which I think fit to tell you is, I command

you, as soon as you find yourself in a probable danger of falling into the rebels' hands, to transport yourself into Denmark; and, upon my blessing, not to stay too long upon uncertain hopes within this island, in case of danger as above said. For, if I mistake not the present condition of the west, you ought not to defer your journey one hour: in this I am not absolutely positive; but I am directly positive, that your going beyond sea is absolutely necessary for me, as I do, to command you; and I do not restrain you only to Denmark, but permit you to choose any other country, rather than to stay here: as for Scotland and Ireland I forbid you either, until you shall have perfect assurance, that peace be concluded in the one, or that the earl of Mountrose, in the other, be in a very good condition; which, upon my word, he is not now: so God bless you.

"Your loving father, *Charles R.*"

Though the intimations in this letter were strong for a present remove, yet they not being positive, and the time of the year being such, as that the prince could not be blocked up by sea, and so could choose his own time, and having one county entire, and Exeter and Barnstable in the other well garrisoned, besides the blockade before Plymouth, and the reputation of an army, the council were of opinion, that the time was not yet ripe; and so pursued the former design of joining the Cornish to the horse, and to endeavour the relief of Exeter; for which purpose, the prince undertook the journey before mentioned to Tavistock, the day after Christmas day; and, at his coming thither, received this other letter from the king.

Oxford, the 7th of December, 1645.

"Charles,

"I writ to you this day month; of which, few days after, I sent you a duplicate. The causes of my commands to you in that letter, are now multiplied. I will name but one, which I am sure is sufficient for what I shall now add to my former: it is this; I have resolved to propose a personal treaty to the rebels at London; in order to which a trumpet

is by this time there, to demand a pass for my messengers, who are to carry my propositions; which if admitted, as I believe it will, then my real security will be, your being in another country, as also a chief argument (which speaks itself without an orator) to make the rebels hearken, and yield to reason: whereas therefore I left you by my last to judge of the time, I absolutely command you to seek for carefully, and take the first opportunity of transporting yourself into Denmark, if conveniently you can; but rather than not go out of this kingdom, immediately after the receipt of this, I permit, and command you to repair to any other country, as France, Holland, &c. whereto you may arrive with most convenient security as to your passage; for nothing else is to be feared: I need not recommend to you the leaving the country in the best posture you may, it so speaks itself, as I shall always do to be

"Your loving father, *Charles R.*"

His highness, as he used to do, as soon as he had perused the letter, which, as the rest, was written in the lord Colepepper's cipher, and by him deciphered, delivered it again to his lordship, "to be secretly kept, and communicated to the other three; for it was by no means yet safe to trust it further. They were much troubled at the receipt of this letter; for, besides that it found them in the article of the most probable design had been on foot since the late disasters, to preserve the west; if they should have attempted to have given obedience to that command, the sudden, unexpected, and unreasonable leaving the army, would visibly have declared what the intent had been, and would probably have engaged the people, and the soldiers, (who would have wanted neither intelligence, nor instigation from the prince's own servants; of whom the lords could not rely upon three men,) they being full of hope in the enterprise they were upon, and full of dislike of the other they should have chosen, to have prevented it; towards which, they might reasonably have expected assistance from the garrison of Pendennis; from which place his highness was necessarily to remove himself. So that if the prince attempted to go, and succeed-

ed, the army, upon that discountenance, must dissolve; and if he succeeded not, there might be a fatal consequence of the endeavour and disappointment. Then, though they had long kept a ship in the harbour in readiness, and had at that time another frigate of Mr. Hasdunck's, yet it had been carried with so much secrecy that very few had taken notice of it, and therefore they could not be provided for so long a voyage as to Denmark, which, with so precious a charge, would require two months' victual at least. But that which troubled them most, was the argument which his majesty was pleased to use for his so positive command; which, to their understanding, seemed to conclude rather, that his highness's transportation (at least without an immediate impulsion of necessity) was at that time most unseasonable: for if, in expectation of a treaty, his majesty should venture his royal person in London, and should be received there, and at the same time his highness's person should be transported out of the kingdom, by his majesty's own commands, (which could not then have been concealed,) it was reasonable to believe, that not only the rebels would make great advantage of it, as an argument against his majesty's sincere intentions, and thereby draw unspeakable and irreparable prejudice upon him; but that his own council, by which he was disposed to that overture, and whose assistance he must constantly use, would take themselves to be highly disobliged by that act; and they would lose all confidence in their future counsels.[1]

Upon the whole matter, the lords were unanimously of opinion, "that the relief of Exeter was to proceed in the manner formerly agreed, and that the prince's person was to be present at it:" and thereupon they sent an express to the king, with a despatch signed by the four who were trusted, a duplicate whereof was sent by another express the

[1] The historian judges right, that both the king's friends and enemies would have judged this to be disingenuous dealing; and if, as he observes, the king's *council* would thereby lose all confidence in the king, (for that is the meaning of the jargon *of the council losing all confidence in their future counsels*) what must the parliament do?—W.

next day, in which they presented a clear state to his majesty of his forces, and the hopes they then had of improving their condition by the prince's presence; of the condition of Exeter, and of the strength, as they conceived, of the enemy: and of the inconveniency, if not the impossibility, of obeying his majesty at that time. They further informed his majesty of "the great indisposition, that they perceived in all the servants towards his highness's leaving the kingdom; and that the jealousy was so great of France, that they had reason to believe that many who were very faithful, and tender of his safety, would rather wish him in the hands of the enemy, than in that kingdom; and therefore, when the article of necessity should come, (which they assured his majesty they would with any hazard watch and observe,) they must prefer the continuing him still within his majesty's own dominions, and so to waft him to Scilly, or Jersey, and from thence conclude what was to be done further. They presented likewise their humble opinion to him, that in case he should be engaged in a personal treaty at London, (which they conceived the rebels would never admit, without such acts first obtained from his majesty, as might invalidate his power, and confirm theirs,) how inconvenient it might be, without the privity of those counsellors, whom he was then to trust, to transport the prince, except in danger of surprisal, before the issue of that treaty might be discerned:" assuring his majesty, "that nothing should put his highness's person into the hands of the parliament, but his majesty's own commands; which they should not resist in his own dominions, nor, they conceived, any body else, if he were out of them."

The appearance at Tavistock answered the expectation; there being full two thousand four hundred of the trained bands, very cheerful, and ready to march; at Okington were eight hundred old soldiers, under major general Molesworth; the foot with the lord Wentworth were given out to be eight hundred, with the lord Goring's guards which were in Dartmouth; and to be drawn thence upon the advance to the army: from Barnstable, the governor had promised to send five hundred men; and out of Exeter, at the least, a

thousand five hundred men were promised: all which, with his highness's guards, might well be depended upon for six thousand foot. The horse was very little fewer than five thousand; whereof his highness's guards made near seven hundred; so that, if all these could have been brought to fight, the day seemed not desperate. The foot were appointed to have marched the morrow, when the news came, "that the enemy was advanced, and had beaten up the lord Wentworth's quarters in two several places;" and shortly after the news, the lord Wentworth himself came in, in great disorder, not informed of the particular of his loss, but conceived it to be greater than in truth it was, though many men, and more horses, were taken in both places. The prince was very desirous to pursue the former resolution, and to have advanced with the whole body to Totness; but the lord Wentworth did not only allege, "that probably the enemy was possessed by that time of Totness, but that he had in truth no hope to rally his horse together, in any numbers, till they might be allowed three or four days' rest." Whereas all that rout had been occasioned by small parties of the enemy, who, at day time, came into their quarters, and found no guards, but all the horse in the stables; and their gross moved not in two or three days after; encouraged, it was thought, by the great disorder they found those troops to be in. Matters standing thus, and it being absolutely necessary, by reason of this disorderly retreat of the horse, to draw off the blockade from Plymouth, Tavistock was no longer thought a place for the prince's residence; his highness by the advice of a council of war removed to Launceston; whither all the foot were drawn, and the horse appointed to keep the Devonshire side of the river; and from thence he hoped he should be speedily able to advance towards Exeter.

The king had stayed at Hereford, in great perplexity and irresolution; not knowing which way to take, but most inclined to go to Worcester; till he was assured, "that the whole strength of the parliament in the north was gathered together under the command of Pointz; and that he was already come between Hereford and Worcester, with a body

of above three thousand horse and dragoons; with which he was appointed always to attend the king's motion:" so that it would be very hard for his majesty to get to Worcester, whither his purpose of going was, upon the new resolution he had taken again to march into Scotland to join with Mountrose, who was yet understood to be prosperous. And this being the only design, it was not thought reasonable "to prosecute that march by Worcester, and thereby to run the hazard of an engagement with Pointz; but rather to take a more secure passage through North Wales to Chester; and thence, through Lancashire and Cumberland, to find a passage into Scotland, unobstructed by any enemy that could oppose them." This counsel pleased; and within four days, though through very unpleasant ways, the king came within half a day's journey of Chester; which he found in more danger than he expected or suspected; for within three days before, the enemy, out of their neighbour garrisons, had surprised both the outworks and suburbs of Chester; and had made some attempt upon the city, to the great terror and consternation of those within; who had been without apprehension of such a surprise. So that this unexpected coming of his majesty looked like a designation of Providence for the preservation of so important a place: and the besiegers were no less amazed, looking upon themselves as lost, and the king's troops believed them to be in their power.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale was sent with most of the horse over Holt-bridge, that he might be on the east side of the river Dee; and the king, with his guards, the lord Gerrard, and the rest of the horse, marched directly into Chester, with a resolution, "that, early the day following, sir Marmaduke Langdale should have fallen upon their backs, when all the force of the town should have sallied out, and so enclosed them." But sir Marmaduke Langdale, being that night drawn on a heath two miles from Chester, had intercepted a letter from Pointz, (who had marched a much shorter way, after he was informed which way the king was bound,) to the commander that was before Chester, telling him, "that he was come to their rescue, and desiring to have some foot sent to

him, to assist him against the king's horse:" and the next morning he appeared, and was charged by sir Marmaduke Langdale, and forced to retire with loss; but kept still at such a distance, that the foot from before Chester might come to him. The besiegers begun to draw out of the suburbs in such haste, that it was believed in Chester, they were upon their flight; and so most of the horse and foot in the town had order to pursue them. But the others' haste was to join with Pointz; which they quickly did; and then they charged sir Marmaduke Langdale; who, being overpowered, was routed, and put to flight; and pursued by Pointz even to the walls of Chester. There the earl of Litchfield with the king's guards, and the lord Gerrard with the rest of the horse, were drawn up, and charged Pointz, and forced him to retire. But the disorder of those horse which first fled, had so filled the narrow ways, which were unfit for horse to fight in, that at last the enemy's musketeers compelled the king's horse to turn, and to rout one another, and to overbear their own officers, who would have restrained them. Here fell many gentlemen, and officers of name, with the brave earl of Litchfield; who was the third brother of that illustrious family, that sacrificed his life in this quarrel. He was a very faultless young man, of a most gentle, courteous, and affable nature, and of a spirit and courage invincible; whose loss all men exceedingly lamented, and the king bore it with extraordinary grief. There were many persons of quality taken prisoners, amongst whom sir Philip Musgrave, a gentleman of a noble extraction, and ample fortune in Cumberland and Westmoreland; who lived to engage himself again in the same service, and with the same affection, and, after very great sufferings, to see the king restored. This defeat broke all the body of horse, which had attended the king from the battle of Naseby, and which now fled over all the country to save themselves; and were as much dispersed, as the greatest rout could produce.

The design of marching northward was now at an end; and it was well it was so; for about this very time Mountrose was defeated by David Lesley; so that if the king had

advanced further, as he resolved to have done, the very next day after he came to Chester, he could never have been able to have retreated. He stayed in Chester only one night after this blow, but returned, by the same way by which he had come, to Denbigh-castle in North Wales, being attended only with five hundred horse; and there he stayed three days to refresh himself, and to rally such of his troops as had stayed within any distance. And there he stayed till his broken troops were rallied again; so that he had in view four and twenty hundred horse; but whither to go with them was still the difficult question. Some proposed "the isle of Anglesey, as a place of safety, and an island fruitful enough to support his forces; which would defend itself against any winter attempt, and from whence he might be easily transported into Ireland or Scotland." They who objected against this, as very many objections might well be made, proposed "that his majesty might commodiously make his winter quarters at Worcester, and by quartering his troops upon the Severn, between Bridgenorth and Worcester, stand there upon his guard; and, by the access of some other forces, might be able to fight with Pointz;" who, by this time, that he might both be able the more to straiten Chester, and to watch the king's motion, had drawn his troops over the river Dee into Denbighshire; so that he was now nearer the king, and made the march proposed much the more difficult; but there was so little choice, that it was prosecuted, with good success; and there being another bridge to pass the Dee some miles further, and through as ill ways as any those countries are supplied with, his majesty went over without any opposition; and had, by this means, left Pointz a full day's journey behind. And here prince Maurice waited on his majesty with eight hundred horse, part whereof was of prince Rupert's regiment that came out of Bristol. And now being so much stronger they less feared the enemy; yet continued their march without resting, till, by fording the Severn, they came to Bridgenorth, the place designed. And now every body expected, that they should forthwith go to Worcester, and take up their winter quarters; but upon the news of the surrender of

Berkley-castle in Gloucestershire, and of the Devizes in Wiltshire, two strong garrisons of the king's, it was urged, "that Worcester would not be a good place for the king's winter residence, and Newark was proposed as a place of more security." This advice was the more like to be embraced, because it was vehemently pursued upon a private and particular interest.

Though prince Rupert had submitted to the king's pleasure, in resigning his commission, yet he resolved not to make use of his pass, and to quit the kingdom, till he might first see his majesty, and give an account of the reasons which obliged him to deliver up Bristol, and was ready to begin his journey towards him, as soon as he could be informed where the king intended to rest. The lord Digby, who had then the chief influence upon his majesty's councils, and was generally believed to be the sole cause of revoking the prince's commission,[1] and of the order sent to him to leave the kingdom, without being heard what he could say for himself, found that the odium of all this proceeding fell upon him; and therefore, to prevent the breaking of that cloud upon him, which threatened his ruin, (for he had not only the fury of prince Rupert, and all his party to contend with, but the extreme malice of the lord Gerrard; who used to hate heartily upon a sudden accident, without knowing why: over and above this, as prince Rupert would have an easy journey to Worcester, so prince Maurice was governor there, who had a very tender sense of the severity his brother had undergone, and was ready to revenge it: whereas if the king went to Newark, the journey from Oxford thither would be much more difficult, and prince Maurice would be without any authority there,) these reasons were motives enough to him, to be very solicitous to divert the king from Worcester, and to incline him to Newark; and his credit was so great, that, against the opinion of every other man, the king resolved to take that course: so having stayed only one day at Bridgenorth, and from thence sent sir Thomas

[1] Had he done this after the battle of Marston Moor, he had done the king much service.---W.

Glemham to receive the government of Oxford, he made haste to Litchfield; and then passed with that speed to Newark, that he was there as soon as the governor had notice of his purpose. And in this manner, in the greatest perplexity of his own affairs, was his majesty compelled to condescend to the particular and private passions of other men.

When the king came to Newark, he betook himself to the regulating the very great disorders of that garrison; which, by their great luxury and excesses, in a time of so general calamity, had given great scandal to the commissioners, and to all the country. The garrison consisted of about two thousand horse and foot; and to those there were about four and twenty colonels and general officers, who had all liberal assignments out of the contributions, according to their qualities; so that though that small county paid more contribution than any other in England, there was very little left to pay the common soldiers, or to provide for any other expenses. This made so great a noise, that the king found it absolutely necessary to reform it; and so reduced some of the officers entirely, and lessened the pay of others; which added to and increased the number of the discontented people; which was very much too numerous before. Now reports were spread abroad with great confidence, and the advertisement sent from several places, though no author named, "that Mountrose, after his defeat, by an access of those troops which were then absent, had fought again with David Lesley; and totally defeated him; and that he was marched towards the borders with a strong army." This news, how groundless soever, was so very good that it was easily believed, and believed to that degree, that the king himself declared a resolution, the third time, "to advance, and join with Mountrose;" and the lord Digby (who knew that prince Rupert was already upon his way from Oxford, and that prince Maurice had met him at Banbury) prevailed so far, that the king resolved, without delay, or expecting any confirmation of the report, "to move northward to meet the news, and, if it fell not out to his wish, he would return to Newark." In this resolution, after a week's stay at New-

ark, he marched to Tuxford ; and the next day to Wellbeck, having, in his way, met with the same general reports of Mountrose's victories ; which were interpreted as so many confirmations ; and therefore, though the king assembled his council to consult at Wellbeck, he declared, " that he would not have it debated, whether he should advance or retire ; but the manner of his advancing ; since he was resolved not to retire ; which he was sure would be attended with more mischief than could accompany his advancing."

This declaration, how disagreeable soever it was to the sense of much the major part, left very little to be consulted upon ; for since they must advance, it was easily agreed, " that they should march the next day to Rotheram ; and that the army should be drawn to a rendezvous, the next morning, at such an hour ;" and so the officers rose to give orders out for the execution of what was resolved ; when, in the instant, one knocked at the door ; and, being called in, was the trumpeter formerly sent from Cardiff to the Scottish army, with a letter to the earl of Leven, general thereof ; who had taken him with him as far as Berwick, before he would suffer him to be discharged. The king asked him, " what he had heard of the marquis of Mountrose ?" He answered, " that the last news he had heard of him was, that he was about Stirling, retiring further north ; and that David Lesley was in Lothian, on this side Edinburgh ; and that the Scottish army lay between North Allerton and Newcastle." This so unexpected relation dashed the former purpose ; and the lord Digby himself declared, " that it was by no means fit for his majesty to advance ; but to retire presently to Newark ;" which was, by every body, agreed to ; and the rendezvous of the army for the next morning to continue. When they were at the rendezvous, the king declared, " that though it was not judged fit for himself to advance northward, yet he thought it very necessary, that sir Marmaduke Langdale should, with the horse under his command, march that way ; and endeavour to join with Mountrose." And, having said so, his majesty looked upon sir Marmaduke ; who very cheerfully submitted to his majesty's pleasure ; and said, " he had only one suit to make to his majesty ; which was, that the lord Digby might com-

mand in chief, and he under him." All who were present, stood amazed at all that had been said; of which no word had passed in council: but when the lord Digby as frankly accepted of the command, they concluded, that it had been concerted before between the king and the other two.

No man contradicted any thing that was proposed; and so immediately, upon the place, a short commission was prepared, and signed by the king, to constitute the lord Digby lieutenant general of all the forces raised, or to be raised, for the king on the other side of Trent; and with this commission he immediately departed from the king, taking with him from the rendezvous all the northern horse, with sir Marmaduke Langdale, and sir Richard Hutton, high sheriff of Yorkshire, together with the earls of Carnewarth and Niddisdale, and several other Scottish gentlemen: he marched in the head of fifteen hundred horse; and so in a moment became a general, as well as a secretary of state; and marched presently to Doncaster.

Because this expedition was in a short time at an end, it will not be amiss to finish the relation in this place; there being no occasion to resume it hereafter. The lord Digby was informed at his being at Doncaster, "that there was, in a town two or three miles distant, and little out of the way of the next day's march, one thousand foot newly raised for the parliament;" which he resolved, the next morning, to fall upon: and did it so well, that they all threw down their arms, and dispersed; whereupon he prosecuted his march to a town called Sherborne, where he stayed to refresh his troops; and whilst he stayed there, he had notice of the advance of some troops of horse towards him, under the command of colonel Copley: Digby presently sounded to horse, and having gotten some few troops ready, marched with them out of the town; and finding Copley standing upon a convenient ground, he would not stay for his other companies, but immediately charged them with that courage, that he routed most of their bodies; which, after a short resistance, fled, and were pursued by his horse through Sherborne; where the other troops were refreshing themselves; who discerning the flight of horse, in great consternation, concluded, that they were their own

fellows, who had been routed by the enemy: and so with equal confusion they mounted their horses, and fled as fast as the other, such ways, as they severally conceived to be most for their safety. By this means, a troop that remained upon the field unbroken, fell upon the lord Digby, and those officers and gentlemen who remained about him, and who had not pursued those who fled too far; who were compelled to make their retreat to Skipton; which they did with the loss of sir Richard Hutton, (a gallant and worthy gentleman, and the son and heir of a very venerable judge, a man famous in his generation,) and two or three other persons; and with the loss of his baggage; in which was his cabinet of papers; which, being published by the parliament, administered afterwards so much occasion of discourse.

At Skipton, most of the scattered troops came together again, with which he marched, without any other misadventures, through Cumberland and Westmoreland, as far as Dumfries in Scotland; and then, neither receiving directions which way to march, nor where Mountrose was, and less knowing how to retire without falling into the hands of the Scottish army upon the borders; in the highest despair, the lord Digby, with sir M. Langdale, the two earls, and most of the other officers, embarked themselves for the Isle of Man; and, shortly after, for Ireland; where we shall leave them, all the troops being left by them, to shift for themselves. Thus those fifteen hundred horse which marched northward from that rendezvous, within very few days were brought to nothing; and the generalship of the lord Digby, to an end. But if it had not been for that extraordinary and unusual accident of the flying of his own troops, because the enemy fled,[1] (as the greatest misfortunes which befell that noble person, throughout the whole course of his life, usually fell out in a conjuncture when he had near attained to what he could wish,) he had without doubt been master

[1] This expression shews the historian's contempt of these troops, which, by being so oft beat, routed at Naseby, frightened by Lesley's horse, and dispersed by Pointz, came at length not to know their friends from their enemies.—W.

of York, and of the whole north; the parliament having no other forces in all those parts, their garrisons excepted, than those foot which he first defeated, and those horse which he had so near broken. The temper and composition of his mind was so admirable,[1] that he was always more pleased and delighted that he had advanced so far, which he imputed to his own virtue and conduct, than broken or dejected that his success was not answerable, which he still charged upon second causes, for which he could not be accountable.

When the lord Digby and sir Marmaduke Langdale left the king, his majesty marched back to Newark with eight hundred horse of his own guards, and the troops belonging to the lord Gerrard; and quickly heard of the misfortune that befell the northern adventurers; upon which he concluded that it would not be safe for him to stay longer in the place where he was, for by this time Pointz was come with all his troops to Nottingham, and Rossiter with all the force of Lincolnshire to Grantham; and all the power his majesty had was not in any degree strong enough to oppose either of them; so that he was only to watch an opportunity by the darkness of the nights, and good guides, to steal from thence to Worcester, or Oxford; in either of which he could only expect a little more time and leisure to consider what was more to be done.

But before his majesty can leave Newark, he must undergo a new kind of mortification from his friends, much sharper than any he had undergone from his enemies; and which, without doubt, he tolerated with much more grief, and perplexity of mind. Prince Rupert was now come to Belvoir-castle, with his brother prince Maurice, and about one hundred and twenty officers who attended him; with which he had sustained a charge from Rossiter, and broke through without any considerable loss. When the king heard of his being so near, he writ a letter to him, by which "he required him to stay at Belvoir till further order;" and reprehended him "for not having given obedience to his

[1] A very polite periphrasis for complacency in his excessive vanity.—W.

former commands." Notwithstanding this command, he came the next day to Newark, and was met by the lord Gerrard, and sir Richard Willis, governor of the town, with one hundred horse, two miles in his way. About an hour after, with this train, he came to the court; and found the king in the presence; and, without any ceremony, told his majesty, "that he was come to render an account of the loss of Bristol, and to clear himself from those imputations which had been cast upon him." The king said very little to him; but, meat being brought up, went to supper; and, during that time, asked some questions of prince Maurice, without saying any thing to the other. After he had supped, he retired to his chamber, without admitting any further discourse; and the prince returned to the governor's house, where he was well treated and lodged. The king, how displeased soever, thought it necessary to hear what prince Rupert would say, that he might with the more ease provide for his own escape from thence; which it was high time to make. So he appointed the next day to hear his defence, which the prince made with many protestations of "his innocence, and how impossible it was long to defend the fort, after the line was entered." His majesty did not suspect his nephew to have any malicious design against his service, and had no mind to aggravate any circumstances which had accompanied that action; and therefore, after a day or two's debate, caused a short declaration to be drawn up, by which prince Rupert was absolved and cleared from any disloyalty, or treason, in the rendering of Bristol, but not of indiscretion. And so that matter was settled; upon which the king expected the prince should have departed, as himself resolved to prosecute the means for his own escape, without communicating it to him.

And by the change of the posture of the enemy, by Pointz's coming to the north side of Trent, which made him resolve to begin his march on the Sunday night, being the twentieth of October; which he imparted to none but two or three of the nearest trust. But the differences were grown so high between the governor and the commissioners, (who were all the principal gentlemen of the country, and who

had with all courage and fidelity adhered to the king from the beginning, and whose interest alone had preserved that place,) and had been so much improved by the mutual contests which had been between them in the presence of the king, that there was no possibility of reconciling them, and very little of preserving the garrison, but by the removal of the governor; which was so evident to the king, that he resolved on that expedient; and, on the Sunday morning, sent for sir Richard Willis into his bed-chamber; and after very many gracious expressions of "the satisfaction he had received in his service, and of the great abilities he had to serve him," he told him, "his own design to be gone that night; and that he resolved to take him with him, and to make him captain of his horse guards, in the place of the earl of Litchfield, who had been lately killed before Chester," (which was a command equal to any subject,) "and that he would leave the lord Bellasis governor of Newark, who being allied to most of the gentlemen of the adjacent counties, and having a good estate there, would be more acceptable to them." And his majesty condescended so far, as to tell him, "that he did not hereby give a judgment on the commissioners' side, who he declared had been to blame in many particulars; and that he himself could not have an ampler vindication, than by the honour and trust he now conferred upon him: but he found it would be much easier to remove him, than to reform the commissioners; who, being many, could not be any other way united in his service."

Sir Richard Willis appeared very much troubled; and excused the not taking the other command, "as a place of too great honour, and that his fortune could not maintain him in that employment:" he said, "that his enemies would triumph at his removal, and he should be looked upon as cast out and disgraced." The king replied, "that he would take care and provide for his support; and that he could not be looked upon as disgraced, who was placed so near his person; which, he told him, he would find to be true, when he had thought a little of it." And so his majesty went out of his chamber, and presently to the church. When he returned from thence, he sat down to dinner; the lords, and

other of his servants, retiring to their lodgings on the same business. Before the king had dined, sir Richard Willis, with both the princes, the lord Gerrard, and about twenty officers of the garrison, entered into the presence chamber: Willis addressed himself to the king, and told him, "that what his majesty had said to him in private, was now the public talk of the town, and very much to his dishonour:" prince Rupert said, "that sir Richard Willis was to be removed from his government, for no fault that he had committed, but for being his friend:" the lord Gerrard added, "that it was the plot of the lord Digby, who was a traitor, and he would prove him to be so." The king was so surprised with this manner of behaviour, that he rose in some disorder from the table, and would have gone into his bed-chamber; calling sir Richard Willis to follow him; who answered aloud, "that he had received a public injury, and therefore that he expected a public satisfaction." This, with what had passed, so provoked his majesty, that, with greater indignation than he was ever seen possessed with, he commanded them "to depart from his presence, and to come no more into it;" and this with such circumstances in his looks and gesture, as well as words, that they appeared no less confounded; and departed the room, ashamed of what they had done; and yet as soon as they came to the governor's house, they sounded to horse, intending to be presently gone.

The noise of this unheard of insolence quickly brought the lords who were absent, and all the gentlemen who were in the town, to the king, with expressions full of duty, and a very tender sense of the usage he had endured. And there is no doubt, he could have proceeded in what manner he would against the offenders. But his majesty thought it best, on many considerations, to leave them to themselves, and to be punished by their own reflections; and presently declared the lord Bellasis to be governor; who immediately betook himself to his charge, and placed the guards in such a manner as he thought reasonable. In the afternoon, a petition and remonstrance was brought to the king, signed by the two princes, and about four and twenty officers; in which they desired, "that sir Richard Willis might receive

a trial by a court of war; and if they found him faulty, then to be dismissed from his charge: and that, if this might not be granted, they desired passes for themselves, and as many horse as desired to go with them." Withal, they said, "they hoped, that his majesty would not look upon this action of theirs as a mutiny." To the last, the king said, "he would not now christen it; but it looked very like one. As for the court of war, he would not make that a judge of his actions; but for the passes, they should be immediately prepared for as many as desired to have them." And the next morning the passes were sent to them; and in the afternoon they left the town; being in all about two hundred horse; and went to Wyverton,[1] a small garrison depending upon Newark; where they stayed some days; and from thence went to Belvoir-castle; from whence they sent one of their number to the parliament, "to desire leave, and passes, to go beyond the seas."

Besides the exceeding trouble and vexation that this action of his nephews, towards whom he had always expressed such tenderness and indulgence, gave the king, it broke the design he had for his present escape; which was not possible to be executed in that time; and Pointz and Rossiter drew every day nearer, and believed they had so encompassed him round, that it was not possible for him to get out of their hands. They had now besieged Shetford-house, a garrison belonging to Newark, and kept strong guards between that and Belvoir, and stronger towards Litchfield; which was the way they most suspected his majesty to incline to; so that the truth is, nothing but Providence could conduct him out of that labyrinth: but the king gave not himself over. He had fixed now his resolution for Oxford, and sent a trusty messenger thither with directions, that the horse of that garrison should be ready, upon a day he appointed, between Banbury and Daventry. Then, upon Monday, the third of November, early in the morning, he sent a gentleman to Belvoir-castle, to be informed of the true state of the rebels' quarters, and to advertise sir Gervas Lucas,

[1] Bynenton, or Watton.—W.

the governor of that garrison, of his majesty's design to march thither that night, with order that his troops and guides should be ready at such an hour; but with an express charge, "that he should not acquaint the princes, or any of their company, with it."[1] And that gentleman being returned with very particular information, the resolution was taken "to march that very night," but not published till an hour after the shutting the ports. Then order was given, "that all should be ready in the market-place, at ten of the clock;" and by that time the horse were all there, and were in number between four and five hundred, of the guards and of other loose regiments; they were all there put in order; and every man was placed in some troop; which done, about eleven of the clock, they began to march; the king himself in the head of his own troop marched in the middle of the whole body. By three of the clock in the morning they were at Belvoir; without the least interruption or alarm given. There sir Gervas Lucas, and his troop, with good guides were ready; and attended his majesty till the break of day; by which time he was past those quarters which he most apprehended; but he was still to march between their garrisons; and therefore made no delay, but marched all that day; and passed near Burleigh upon the hill, a garrison of the enemy, from whence some horse waited upon the rear, and took and killed some men, who either negligently stayed behind, or whose horses were tired. Towards the evening the king was so very weary and tired, that he was even compelled to rest and sleep for the space of four hours, in a village within eight miles of Northampton. At ten of the clock that night, they begun to march again; and were, before day, the next morning past Daventry; and, before noon, came to Banbury; where the Oxford horse were ready, and waited upon his majesty, and conducted him safe to Oxford that day; and so he finished the most tedious and grievous march that ever king was exercised in, having been almost in perpetual motion from the loss of the battle of Naseby to this hour,

[1] Walker gives the reason, that as they had acted so undutifully, they should have no share in the honour of the service.—W.

with such a variety of dismal accidents as must have broken the spirits of any man who had not been the most magnanimous person in the world. At Oxford, the king found himself at rest and ease to revolve and reflect upon what was past, and to advise and consult of what was to be done, with persons of entire devotion to him, and of steady judgments;[1] and presently after his coming thither, he writ that letter of the seventh of November; and, shortly after, the other of the seventh of December; both which are mentioned before, and set down at large.

The prince of Wales did not enjoy so much rest and ease in his quarters; for, upon the hurry of the retreat of the horse, which is mentioned before, and which indeed was full of confusion, very many of the trained bands of Cornwall broke loose, and run to their houses, pretending "they feared that the horse would go into that county, and plunder them;" for which fear they had the greater pretence, because, upon the retreat, many regiments had orders from the lord Wentworth to quarter in Cornwall; of which his highness was no sooner advertised, than he sent his orders positive, "that no one regiment of horse should be there, but that they should be all quartered on the Devon side." And upon that, they were dispersed about the county, for the space of thirty miles breadth, as if no enemy had been within two days' march of them. There were now drawn together, and to be engaged together in one action against the enemy, all the horse and foot of the lord Goring; the command whereof, the lord Wentworth challenged to himself by deputation; the horse and foot of sir Richard Greenvil; and the horse and foot of general Digby, neither of which acknowledged a superiority in the other, besides the guards; which nobody pretended to command but the lord Capel. When the prince removed from Tavistock, the raising the blockade from Plymouth was absolutely necessary, and it was concluded, as hath been said, at a council of war, "that it would be fit for his highness to remove to Launceston; whither the trained bands and the rest of the foot should

[1] Hinting at lord Digby's.—W.

likewise come, and the horse march on the Devonshire side, and quarter most conveniently in that county." The care of the retreat, and bringing the provisions from Tavistock, was committed to sir Richard Greenvil; which was performed by him so negligently, that besides the disorders which he suffered in Tavistock, by the soldiers, a great part of the magazine of victuals, and three or four hundred pair of shoes, were left there; and so lost. The day after the prince came to Launceston, sir Richard Greenvil writ a letter to him, wherein he represented "the impossibility of keeping that army together, or fighting with it in the condition it was then in;" told him, "that he had, the night before, sent directions to major general Harris," (who commanded the foot that came from Plymouth,) "to guard such a bridge; but that he returned him word, that he would receive orders from none but general Digby; that general Digby said, that he would receive orders from none but his highness; that a party of the lord Wentworth's horse had the same night come into his quarters, where his troop of guards and his firelocks were; that neither submitting to the command of the other, they had fallen foul, and two or three men had been killed; that they continued still in the same place, drawn up one against another; that it was absolutely necessary his highness should constitute one superior officer, from whom all those independent officers might receive orders; without which it would not be possible for that army to be kept together, or do service; that for his own part, he knew his severity and discipline had rendered him so odious to the lord Goring's horse, that they would sooner choose to serve the enemy, than receive orders from him;" therefore he desired his highness to constitute "the earl of Brentford, or the lord Hopton, to command in chief, and then he hoped, some good might be done against the enemy."

The mischief was more visible by much than a remedy; it was evident some action must be with the enemy within few days, and what inconvenience would flow from any alteration, at such a conjuncture of time, was not hard to guess, when both officer and soldier were desirous to take any occasion, and to find any excuse to lay down their arms;

and it was plain, though there were very few who could do good, there were enough that could do hurt; besides, whoever was fit to undertake so great a trust and charge, would be very hardly entreated to take upon him the command of a dissolute, undisciplined, wicked, beaten army,[1] upon which he must engage his honour, and the hope of what was left, without having time to reform or instruct them. That which made the resolution easy was, that though there was little hope of doing good by any alteration in command, there was evident and demonstrable ruin attended no alteration; and they who were trusted might be accountable to the world, for not advising the prince to do that, which, how hopeless soever, only remained to be done.

And thereupon, on the fifteenth of January, his highness made an order, "that the lord Hopton should take the charge of the whole army upon him; and that the lord Wentworth should command all the horse, and sir Richard Greenvil the foot." It was a heavy imposition, I confess, upon the lord Hopton, (to the which nothing but the most abstracted duty and obedience could have submitted,) to take charge of those horse whom only their friends feared, and their enemies laughed at; being only terrible in plunder, and resolute in running away.[2] Of all the trained bands of Cornwall, there were not three hundred left; and those, by some infusions from Greenvil and others, not so devoted to him as might have been expected. The rest of the foot (besides those who belonged to the lord Goring, which were two regiments of about four hundred) were the three regiments of about six hundred; which belonged to sir Richard Greenvil, and the officers of them entirely his creatures; and those belonging to general Digby, which were not above five hundred; to these were added (and were indeed the only men, except a small troop of his own under col. Rovill of horse and some foot, upon whose affection, courage, and duty he could rely; except some particular gentlemen, who

[1] Insinuating in this high wrote picture, that both heaven and earth had concurred to their destruction.---W.

[2] See page 1959.---W.

could only undertake for themselves) about two hundred and fifty foot, and eight hundred horse of the guards; who were commanded by the lord Capel, and entirely to receive orders from his lordship.*

The lord Hopton very generously told the prince, "that it was a custom now, when men were not willing to submit to what they were enjoined, to say, that it was against their honour; that their honour would not suffer them to do this or that: for his part, he could not obey his highness at this time, without resolving to lose his honour, which he knew he must; but since his highness thought it necessary to command him, he was ready to obey him with the loss of his honour." Since the making of this order was concluded an act of absolute necessity, and the lord Hopton had so worthily submitted to it, it was positively resolved by his highness, "that it should be dutifully submitted to by all other men; or that the refusers should be exemplarily punished." There was not the least suspicion that sir Richard Greenvil would not willingly have submitted to it; but it was believed that the lord Wentworth, who had carried himself so high, and more insolently since his disorderly retreat than before, would have refused; which if he had done, it was resolved by the prince presently to have committed him, and to have desired the lord Capel to have taken the charge of the horse.

His highness sent sir Richard Greenvil a letter of thanks, "for the advice which he had given; and which, he said, he had followed, as by the enclosed order he might perceive; by which his highness had committed the care and charge of the whole army to the lord Hopton, appointing that the lord Wentworth should command all the horse, and sir Richard Greenvil all the foot, and both to receive orders from the lord Hopton:" no man imagining it possible that, besides that he had given the advice, he could have refused that charge, by which he was to have a greater command

* The lord Capel, to encourage him to undertake that melancholy charge, promising to accompany him throughout the expedition, as he nobly did.

than ever he had before, and was to be commanded by none but by whom he had often been formerly commanded. But the next day after he received that letter and order, contrary to all expectation, he writ to his highness "to desire to be excused, in respect of his indisposition of health;" expressing, "that he could do him better service in getting up the soldiers who straggled in the country, and in suppressing malignants;" and at the same time writ to the lord Colepepper, "that he could not consent to be commanded by the lord Hopton." It plainly appeared now, that his drift was to stay behind, and command Cornwall; with which, considering the premises, the prince thought he had no reason to trust him. He sent for him therefore, and told him "the extreme ill consequence that would attend the public service, if he should then, and in such a manner, quit the charge his highness had committed to him; that more should not be expected from him than was agreeable to his health; and that if he took the command upon him, he should take what adjutants he pleased to assist him." But notwithstanding all that the prince could say to him, or such of his friends who thought they had interest in him, he continued obstinate; and positively refused to take the charge, or to receive orders from the lord Hopton.

What should the prince have done? for besides the ill consequence of suffering himself to be in that manner contemned, at a time when the whole army was so indisposed, it was very evident, if Greenvil were at liberty, and the army once marched out of Cornwall, he would have put himself in the head of all the discontented party, and at least endeavoured to have hindered their retreat back into Cornwall, upon what occasion soever; and for the present that he would underhand have kept many from marching with the army, upon the senseless pretence of defending their own country. So that, upon full consideration, his highness thought fit to commit him to prison to the governor of Launceston; and, within two or three days after, sent him to the mount; where he remained till the enemy was possessed of the county; when his highness, that he might by no means fall into their hands, gave him leave to transport himself beyond the seas.

The lord Wentworth, though he seemed much surprised with the order when he heard it read at the board, and desired "time to consider of it till the next day, that he might confer with his officers;" yet, when the prince told him, "that he would not refer his acts to be scanned by the officers; but that he should give his positive answer, whether he would submit to it, or no; and then his highness knew what he had to do;" he only desired "to consider till the afternoon;" and then he submitted; and went that night out of town to his quarters; of which most men were not glad, but rather wished (since they knew he would never obey cheerfully) that he would have put the prince to have made further alterations; which yet would have been accompanied with hazard enough. By this time the intelligence was certain of the loss of Dartmouth, which added neither courage nor numbers to our men; and the importunity was such from Exeter for present relief, that there seemed even a necessity of attempting somewhat towards it, upon how great disadvantage soever; and therefore the lord Hopton resolved to march by the way of Chimley; that so, being between the enemy and Barnstable, he might borrow as many men out of the garrison, as could be spared; and so by strong parties at least to attempt upon their quarters. But it was likewise resolved, "that in respect of the smallness of the numbers, and the general indisposition, to say no worse, both in officer and soldier, it would not be fit for his highness to venture his own person with the army; but that he should retire to Truro, and reside there;" against which there were objections enough in view, which were however weighed down by greater.

He that had observed the temper of the gentry of that county towards sir Richard Greenvil, or the clamour of the common people against his oppression and tyranny, would not have believed, that such a necessary proceeding against him, at that time, could have been any unpopular act; there being scarce a day, in which some petition was not presented against him. As the prince passed through Bodmin, he received petitions from the wives of many substantial and honest men; amongst the rest, of the mayor of Listithiel;

who was very eminently well affected and useful to the king's service; all whom Greenvil had committed to the common gaol, for presuming to fish in that river; the royalty of which he pretended belonged to him, by virtue of the sequestration, granted him by the king, of the lord Roberts's estate at Lanhetherick; whereas they who were committed, pretended a title, and had always used the liberty of fishing in those waters, as tenants to the prince of his highness's manor of Listithiel; there having been long suits between the lord Roberts and the tenants of that manor, for that royalty. When he came to Tavistock, he was again petitioned by many women for the liberty of their husbands, whom sir Richard had committed to prison, for refusing to grind at his mill, "which, he said, they were bound by the custom to do." So by his martial power he had asserted whatever civil interest he thought fit to lay claim to; and never discharged any man out of prison, till he absolutely submitted to his pleasure.

There were in the gaol at Launceston, at this time when himself was committed, at least thirty persons, constables and other men, whom he had committed, and imposed fines upon, some of three, four, and five hundred pounds, upon pretence of delinquency, (of which he was in no case a judge,) for the payment whereof they were detained in prison. Amongst the rest, was the mayor of St. Ives, one Hammond, who had then the reputation of an honest man; and was certified to be such by colonel Robinson the governor, and by all the neighbouring gentlemen. After the late insurrection there, which is spoken of before, he had given his bond to sir Richard Greenvil, of five hundred pound, to produce a young man, who was then absent, and accused to be a favourer of that mutiny, within so many days. The time expired before the man could be found; but within three days after the expiration of the term, the mayor sent the fellow to sir Richard Greenvil: but that would not satisfy; but he sent his marshal for the mayor himself, and required fifty pound of him for having forfeited his bond, and upon his refusal forthwith to pay it, committed him to the gaol at Launceston. The son of the mayor presented a petition to the

prince, at Truro, for his father's liberty, setting forth the matter of fact as it was, and annexing a very ample testimony of the good affection of the man. The petition was referred to sir Richard Greenvil, with direction, "that if the case were in truth such, he should discharge him." As soon as the son brought this petition to him, he put it in his pocket; told him, "the prince understood not the business;" and committed the son to gaol, and caused irons to be put upon him for his presumption. Upon a second petition to the prince, at Launceston, after the time that sir Richard himself was committed, he directed the lord Hopton, "upon examination of the truth of it, to discharge the man;" of which when sir Richard heard, he sent to the gaoler, "and forbad him, at his peril, to discharge Hammond;" threatening him "to make him pay the money;" and, after that, caused an action to be entered in the town-court at Launceston upon the forfeiture of the bond. Yet, after all this, he was no sooner committed by the prince, than even those who had complained of him as much as any, expressed great trouble; and many officers of those forces which he had commanded, in a tumultuous manner, petitioned for his release; and others took great pains to have the indisposition of the people, and the ill accidents that followed, imputed to that proceeding against sir Richard Greenvil; in which none were more forward, than some of the prince's own household servants; who were so tender of him, that they forgot their duty to their master.

It was Friday the sixth of February, before the lord Hopton could move from Launceston, for want of carriages for their ammunition, and provision of victual. Neither had he then carriages for above half their little store, but relied upon the commissioners to send the remainder after; and so went to Torrington; where he resolved to fasten, till his provisions could be brought up, and he might receive certain intelligence of the motion and condition of the enemy. He had not continued there above four days, in which he had barricadoed, and made some little fastnesses about the town, when sir Thomas Fairfax advanced to Chimley, within eight miles of Torrington, with six thousand foot, three thousand

five hundred horse, and five hundred dragoons; of which so near advance of the enemy (notwithstanding all the strict orders for keeping of guards; whereof one guard was, or was appointed to be, within two miles of Chimley) he had not known but by a lieutenant, who was accidentally plundering in those parts, and fell amongst them.[1] So negligent and unfaithful were both officers and soldiers in their duty.

The lord Hopton having this intelligence of the strength and neighbourhood of the enemy, had his election of two things, either to retire into Cornwall, or to abide them where he was: the first, besides the disheartening of his men, seemed rather a deferring, than a preventing of any mischief that could befall him; for he foresaw, if he brought that great body of horse into Cornwall, the few that remained of the trained bands would immediately dissolve, and run to their houses; and the remainder of horse and foot, in a short time, be destroyed without an enemy. And therefore he rather chose, notwithstanding the great disadvantage of number in foot, to abide them in that place; where, if the enemy should attempt him in so fast a quarter, he should defend himself with more advantage, than he could in any other place. And so he placed his guards, and appointed all men to their posts, having drawn in as many horse (such as on the sudden he could get) into the town, as he thought necessary; the rest being ordered to stand on a common, at the east end of the town. But the enemy forced the barricado in one place by the baseness of the foot; with which the horse in the town more basely received such a fright, that they could neither be made to charge, nor stand; but, in perfect confusion, run away; whose example all the foot upon the line, and at their other posts, followed; leaving their general (who was hurt in the face with a pike, and his horse killed under him) with two or three gentlemen, to shift for themselves; one of the officers publicly reporting, lest the soldiers should not make haste enough in running away, "that he saw their general run through the body with a pike." The lord Hopton re-

[1] A fine picture of these dissolute undisciplined troops, that all their outguards, even on the approach of the enemy, were their straggling plunderers.--W.

covering a fresh horse, was compelled (being thus deserted by his men) to retire; which he did, to the borders of Cornwall; and stayed at Stratton two or three days, till about a thousand or twelve hundred of his foot came up to him. It was then in consultation, since there was no likelihood of making any stand against the enemy with such foot, and that it was visible that body of horse could not long subsist in Cornwall, whether the horse might not break through to Oxford; which, in respect of their great weariness, having stood two or three days and nights in the field, and the enemy's strength being drawn up within two miles of them, was concluded to be impossible. Besides that there was at that time a confident assurance, by an express (sir D. Wyat) out of France, "of four or five thousand foot to come from thence within three weeks, or a month at furthest;" those letters, and the messenger, averring, "that most of the men were ready. Whereas in truth there was never a man levied, nor, for aught I could since inform myself, like to be."

The enemy advanced to Stratton, and so to Launceston; where Mr. Edgecomb,[1] who had always pretended to be of the king's party, with his regiment of trained bands, joined with them; and the lord Hopton retired to Bodmin; the horse, officers and soldiers, notwithstanding all the strict orders, very negligently performing their duty; insomuch as the lord Hopton protested, "that, from the time he undertook the charge, to the hour of their dissolving, scarce a party or guard appeared with half the number appointed, or within two hours of the time;" and col. Goring's brigade, having the guard upon a down near Bodmin, drew off without orders, and without sending out a scout; insomuch as the whole gross of the rebels were at day-time marched within three miles, before the foot in Bodmin had any notice. So that the lord Hopton was instantly forced to draw off his foot and carriages westward; and kept the field that whole cold night, being the first of March; but could not, by all his orders diligently sent out, draw any considerable body of horse to him by the end of the next day; they having quar-

[1] They have been nothing but *borough-jobbers* ever since.---W.

tered themselves at pleasure over the country, many above twenty miles from Bodmin, and many running to the enemy; and others purposely staying in their quarters, till the enemy came to dispossess them.

When, by the disorders and distractions of the army, which are before set down, his highness was persuaded to make his own residence in Cornwall, he came to Truro on the 12th day of February; where he received a letter from the king, directed to those four of the council who had signed that to his majesty at Tavistock. This letter was dated at Oxford the 5th of February, and contained these words:

"Yours from Tavistock hath fully satisfied me, why my commands concerning prince Charles's going beyond sea were not obeyed. And I likewise agree with you in opinion, that he is not to go until there be an evident necessity; also approving very much of the steps whereby you mean to do it. But withal, I reiterate my commands to you for the prince's going over, whensoever there shall be a visible hazard of his falling into the rebels' hands. In the mean time, I like very well that he should be at the head of the army; and so much the rather, for what I shall now impart to you of my resolution, &c." And so proceeded in the communication of his own design of taking the field; which was afterwards frustrated by the defeat of my lord Astley, and the ill success in the west.

The prince having stayed some days at Truro, went to Pendennis; intending only to recreate himself for two or three days, and to quicken the works, which were well advanced; his highness having issued all the money he could procure, towards the finishing of them. But, in the very morning that he meant to return to Truro, his army being then retired, and Fairfax at the edge of Cornwall, the lord Hopton and the lord Capel sent advertisements, "that they had severally received intelligence of a design to seize the person of the prince; and that many persons of quality of the country were privy to it." Hereupon the prince thought it most convenient to stay where he was, and so returned no more to Truro. The time of apparent danger was now in view, and if there were in truth any design of seizing the prince's person, they had reason to believe that some of his

own servants were not strangers to it. The lords Capel and Hopton being at the army; only the prince, the lord Colepepper, and the chancellor of the exchequer, knew the king's pleasure, and what was to be done. And they two had no confidence, that they should have reputation enough to go through with it; the earl of Berkshire continuing very indisposed and jealous of France, whatever they discoursed to the contrary: the governor of the castle was old and fearful, and not resolute enough to be trusted; and his son, though a gallant gentleman, and worthy of any trust, had little credit with his father.

There was no letter from the king (though they had long before desired such a one, and proposed the form) fit to be publicly shewed, in which there were not some clauses which would have been applied to his majesty's disservice; especially if he should have been at London, which was then confidently averred by some, who swore "they met him at Uxbridge."[1] Therefore they concluded, "that the prince's going away must be the effect of counsel upon necessity, and the appearance of danger to his person, without any mention of the king's command." But how to procure this resolution from the council was the difficulty. They very well knew the lords' minds who were absent, but durst not own that knowledge, lest the design might be more suspected. In the end, having advised Baldwin Wake, to cause the frigate belonging to Hasdunck, and the other ships, to be ready upon an hour's warning; they proposed in council, when the lords Berkshire and Brentford were present, "to send Mr. Fanshaw to the army, to receive opinion and advice of the lords that were there, what was best to be done with reference to the person of the prince, and whether it were fit to hazard himself in Pendennis;" which was accordingly done. And their lordships, according to the former agreement between them, returned their advice, "that it was not fit to adventure his highness in that castle, (which would not only not preserve his person, but probably, by his stay

[1] This was a cavalier oath; for they swore with the same ill faith they fought.---W.

there, might be lost; which by his absence might defend itself,) and that he should remove to Jersey or Scilly." Which, upon Mr. Fanshaw's report, was unanimously consented to by the whole council.

But because Jersey had such a neighbourhood to France, and so might give the greater umbrage, and that Scilly was a part of Cornwall, and was by them all conceived a place of unquestionable strength, the public resolution was for Scilly, it being in their power, when they were at sea, to go for Jersey, if the wind was fair for one, and cross to the other. And so the resolution being imparted to no more that night, than was of absolute necessity, (for we apprehended clamour from the army, from the country, and from that garrison in whose power the prince was,) the next morning, being Monday, the second of March, after the news was come that the army was retiring from Bodmin, and the enemy marching furiously after, and so men were sufficiently awakened with the apprehension of the prince's safety; the governor and his son were called into the council, and made acquainted with the prince's resolution, "that night to embark himself for Scilly, being a part of Cornwall; from whence, by such aids and relief, as he hoped he should procure from France and foreign parts, he should be best able to relieve them." And accordingly, that night, about ten of the clock, he put himself on board; and on Wednesday in the afternoon by God's blessing arrived safe in Scilly; from whence, within two days, the lord Colepepper was sent into France, to acquaint the queen "with his highness's being at Scilly; with the wants and incommodities of that place; and to desire supply of men and monies for the defence thereof, and the support of his own person;" it being agreed in council, before the lord Colepepper's going from Scilly, "that if, upon advancement of the parliament fleet, or any other apparent danger, his highness should have cause to suspect the security of his person there," (the strength of the place in no degree answering their expectation, or the fame of it,) "he would immediately embark himself in the same frigate," (which attended there,) "and go to Jersey."

When the lord Hopton found that he could put no re-

straint to the licence of the soldiers, he called a council of war to consider what was to be done. The principal officers of horse were so far from considering some means to put their men in order, and heart to face the enemy, that they declared in plain English, "that their men would never be brought to fight;" and therefore proposed positively "to send for a treaty:" from which not one officer dissented, except only major general Web, who always professed against it. The lord Hopton told them, "it was a thing he could not consent to without express leave from the prince, (who was then at Pendennis-castle,) to whom he would immediately despatch away an express;" hoping that, by that delay, he should be able to recover the officers to another resolution; or that, by the advance of the enemy, they would be compelled to fight. But they continued their importunity, and at last (no doubt by the advice of our own men; for many, both officers and soldiers, went every day in to them) a trumpet arrived from sir Thomas Fairfax with a letter to the lord Hopton, offering a treaty, and making some propositions to the officers and soldiers. His lordship communicated not this letter to above one or two, of principal trust; conceiving it not fit, in that disorder and dejectedness, to make it public. Hereupon, all the principal officers assemble together, (except the major general,) and expressing much discontent that they might not see the letter, declare peremptorily to the lord Hopton, "that if he would not consent to it, they were resolved to treat themselves." And from this time they neither kept guards, nor performed any duty; their horse every day mingling with those of the enemy, without any act of hostility. In this strait, the lord Hopton having sent his ammunition and foot into Pendennis, and the Mount, and declared, "that he would neither treat for himself nor the garrisons," he gave the horse leave to treat; and thereupon those articles were concluded, by which that body of horse was dissolved; and himself and the lord Capel, with the first wind, went from the Mount to Scilly, to attend his highness; who was gone thither from Pendennis-castle, after the enemy's whole army was entered Cornwall.

Having left the prince in Scilly, so near the end of that ill year 1645, (for it was upon the three and twentieth of March,) that there will be no more occasion of mentioning him till the next year, and being now to leave Cornwall, it will be necessary to inform the reader of one particular. It is at large set down, in the former book, what proceedings there had been at Oxford against duke Hamilton; and how he had been first sent prisoner, to Bristol, and from thence to Pendennis-castle in Cornwall. And since we shall hereafter find him acting a great part for the king, and general in the head of a great army, it would be very incongruous, after having spent so much time in Cornwall without so much as naming him, to leave men ignorant what became of him, and how he obtained his liberty; which he employed afterwards with so much zeal for the king's service to the loss of his life; by which he was not only vindicated, in the opinion of many honest men, from all those jealousies and aspersions, he had long suffered under; but the proceeding that had been against him, was looked upon by many as void of that justice and policy, which had been requisite; and they concluded by what he did after a long imprisonment, how much he might have done more successfully, if he had never been restrained. Without doubt, what he did afterwards, and what he suffered, ought to free his memory from any reproaches for any errors, or weakness, of which he had before been guilty. What were the motives and inducements of his commitment, have been at large set down before in the proper place. It remains now, only to set down how he came at last to be possessed of his liberty, and why he obtained it no sooner, by other more gracious ways; which might have been an obligation upon him; when it might easily have been foreseen, that he would be, in a short time, at liberty, notwithstanding any opposition.

When the prince first visited Cornwall, to settle his own revenue of that duchy; which was the only support he had, and out of which he provided for the carrying on the king's service, upon many emergent occasions; he spent some days at Truro, to settle his imposition upon the tin, by virtue of his ancient privilege of preemption. And in that time,

which was about the end of July, the governor of Pendennis-castle invited him to dine there; which his highness willingly accepted, that he might take a full view of the situation and strength thereof; having it then in his view, that he might probably be compelled to resort thither. Every man knew well that duke Hamilton was then a prisoner there, and therefore it was to be considered, what the prince was to do, if the duke should desire, as without doubt he would, to kiss his hand. And it was resolved without dispute, "that the prince was not to admit such a person into his presence, who stood so much in his father's displeasure, and was committed to prison by him; and that none of the council, or of his highness's servants, should visit, or enter into any kind of correspondence with him." And thereupon the governor was advised, in regard the accommodations in the castle were very narrow, "that, during the time the prince was in the castle, the duke should be removed out of his chamber into one of the soldiers' houses;" which was done accordingly. This the duke took very heavily, and lamented "that he might not be admitted to see the prince;" and had a desire to have conferred with the lord Colepepper, or the chancellor, which they were not then at liberty to have satisfied him in. And he afterwards renewed the same desire to them both, by his servant Mr. Hamilton. Hereupon, when the chancellor was shortly after sent to visit the ports of Padstow, the Mount, and Pendennis, which was about the middle of August, (the business being, under that disguise, to provide for the prince's transportation, when it should be necessary,) the prince referred it to him "to see the duke, if he found it convenient." Hereupon, when he came to Pendennis, (being in the afternoon, and to stay there necessarily some days) he[1] was informed, "that the duke came always abroad to meals, and that at that time all men spoke freely with him:" so that, either he was to be made a close prisoner by his being there, or they were to meet at supper and dinner. And the governor then asked him, "whether

[1] *The whole of this account was related originally in MS. in the first person.*

the duke should come abroad." The chancellor had neither authority nor reason to make any alteration; therefore he told him, "he knew his own course, which he presumed he would observe whoever came; and that if the duke pleased, he would wait upon him in his chamber, to kiss his hands before supper;" the which he did.

When the duke, after some civilities to him whom he had long known, and some reproaches to the governor, who was present, "of his very strict usage and carriage towards him;" which, he said, he believed he could not justify, (which carriage I liked not, well knowing, that the governor was absolutely governed by him,) spoke to him of his own condition, and of "his misfortune to fall into his majesty's displeasure, without having given him any offence." He told him, "that he had very much desired to speak with him, that he might make the proposition to him, which he thought for the king's service; and he desired, if it seemed so to him, that he would find means to recommend it to his majesty, and to procure his acceptance of it." Then he told him, "that he was an absolute stranger to the affairs of both kingdoms, having no other intelligence, than what he received from gentlemen whom he met in the next room at dinner; but he believed, by his majesty's late loss at Naseby, that his condition in England was very much worse than his servants hoped it would have been; and therefore, that it might concern him to transact his business in Scotland as soon as might be: that he knew not in what state the lord Mountrose was in that kingdom, but he was persuaded that he was not without opposition." He said, "he was confident that if he himself had his liberty, he could do the king considerable service, and either incline that nation powerfully to mediate a peace in England, or positively to declare for the king, and join with Mountrose." He said, "he knew, it was believed by many, that the animosity was so great from him to Mountrose, who indeed had done him very causeless injuries, that he would rather meditate revenge than concur with him in any action: but, he said, he too well understood his own danger, if the king and monarchy were destroyed in this kingdom, to think of private contention and matters of revenge, when the public was so

much at stake. And he must acknowledge, how unjust soever the lord Mountrose had been to him, he had done the king great service;" and therefore protested with many execrations, "he should join with him in the king's behalf, as with a brother; and if he could not win his own brother from the other party, he would be as much against him." He said, "he could not apprehend that his liberty could be any way prejudicial to the king; for he would be a prisoner still upon his parole; and would engage his honour, that if he found he could not be able to do his majesty that acceptable service which he desired, (of which he had not the least doubt,) he would speedily return, and render himself a prisoner again in the place where he then was." In this discourse he made very great professions, and expressions of his devotion to the king's service, of his obligations to him, and of the great confidence he had, in this particular, of being useful to his majesty.

After he made some pause, in expectation of what the chancellor would say, the chancellor told him, "he doubted not but he was very able to serve the king both in that and in this kingdom; there being very many in both who had a principal dependence upon him: that he heard the king was making some propositions to the Scottish army in England, and that it would be a great instance of his affection and fidelity to the king, if by any message from him to his friends and dependents in the Scottish army then before Hereford, or to his friends in Scotland, his brother being the head or prime person of power there that opposed Mountrose, they should declare for the king, or appear willing to do him service; and that he having free liberty to send, through the parliament's army, to London, or into Scotland, he might as soon do the king this service, as receive a warrant for his enlargement; which, he presumed, he knew could not be granted but by the king himself."

The duke replied, "that he expected that answer, but that it was not possible for him to do any thing by message or letter, or any way but by his presence: first, that they, in whom he had interest, would look upon any thing he should write, or any message he should send, as the result of dis-

tress and compulsion, not of his affection or judgment. Besides, he said, he looked upon himself as very odious to that nation, which was irreconciled to him for his zeal to the king, and thought this a just judgment of God upon him for not adhering to them. And, he said, for his own brother, who he heard indeed had the greatest influence upon their counsels, he had no reason to be confident in him, at that distance; for, besides the extreme injury he had done him, in making an escape from Oxford, by which both their innocencies were made to be suspected, and for which he should never forgive him, he was the heir of the house and family; and, he believed, would be well content that himself should grow old and die in prison: whereas, if he were at liberty, and amongst them, he was confident some for love, and others for fear, would stick to him; and he should easily make it appear to those who were fiercest against the king, that it concerned their own interest to support the king in his just power. However, he concluded, that the worst that could come was his returning to prison, which he would not fail to do." So the discourse ended for that night.

The next day the duke entered again into the same argument, with much earnestness, that the chancellor would interpose, upon that ground, for his liberty; who told him, "that he was so ill a courtier, that he could not dissemble to him: that he was not satisfied with his reasons, and could not but believe, he had interest enough, at that distance, to make some real demonstration of his affection to the king, by the impression he might make upon his dependents and allies: and therefore that he could not offer any advice to the king, to the purpose he desired." He told him, "that he had been present at the council table when the king communicated that business, which concerned him, to the board; and that he gave his opinion fully, and earnestly, for his commitment; being satisfied, upon the information that was given concerning him, that his affection to the king was very questionable; and that it appeared, that he had been earnestly pressed by those persons of honour in that kingdom, upon whom his majesty relied, to declare himself; and that if he could have been induced so to do, having promised the king

he would, and having authority to that purpose from him, they might very easily have suppressed that rebellion in the bud: but that his lordship and his brother were so far from opposing it, that the very proclamation which had issued out there for the general insurrection (which proclamation was perused at council table, when he was committed) was not only set forth in his majesty's own name, but sealed with his signet; which was then in the custody of the earl of Lanrick his brother, he being secretary of state in that kingdom. That those who were the principal informers against him, and who professed that they could do no service, if he were at liberty, since his restraint, being armed with no more authority than he had, at his last being there, when the kingdom was in peace, had, upon all disadvantages imaginable, when that kingdom was totally lost to the king, reduced the greatest part of it again to his obedience; and therefore, whether it was his lordship's misfortune, or his fault, since things prospered so well in his absence, he could not, as a counsellor, advise the king, without the privity and consent of the lord Mountrose, or without some such testimony of his service, as he had before proposed, to give him his liberty: and that any ill success, which possibly might have no relation to that act, would yet be imputed to that counsel; and the lord Mountrose have at least a just or probable excuse, for any thing that should happen amiss."

The duke thanked him for the freedom he had used towards him; and said, "upon the information which was given against him, he must acknowledge the proceedings to be very just; but he was confident, whenever he should be admitted to a fair hearing, he should appear very innocent from the allegations which had been given." He said, "he had never made the least promise to the king, which he had not exactly performed; that he had not authority or power to cross any thing that was done to the prejudice of the king; and therefore to have made any such attempt, or declaration, as some lords had desired, in that conjuncture of time, had been to have destroyed themselves to no purpose: and therefore, he made haste to the king with such propositions and overtures, that he was confident, if he had been admitted to

have spoken with his majesty, at his coming to Oxford, he should have given good satisfaction; and then intended immediately to have returned into Scotland, with such authority and countenance, as the king could well have given him; and doubted not but to have prevented any inconveniences from that kingdom: but that by his imprisonment (which he could have prevented, for he had notice upon his journey, what was intended, and trusted so much in his innocence, that he would not avoid it) all those designs failed. For his brother, he could say nothing, but he believed him an honest man; and for the proceedings of the lord Mountrose, though he had received good assistance from Ireland, which was a good foundation, he could not but say, it had been little less than miraculous: however, he presumed the work was not so near done there, but that his assistance might be very seasonable." After this they spoke often together; but this was the substance and result of all; he insisting upon his present liberty, and the other as pressing, that he would write to his friends. Yet the chancellor promised him, "to present, by the first convenience, his suit and proposition to the king;" which he shortly after did in a letter to the lord Digby.

Upon the first news of the loss of the battle of Naseby, it was enough foreseen, that the prince himself might be put to a retreat to Pendennis-castle. And therefore they wished, "that it might be in the prince's power, upon an emergent occasion, to remove the duke from that place." Which consideration the lord Colepepper presented to the king, at his being with him in Wales; and thereupon a warrant was sent from the king, for the removal of the duke to Scilly; which we were to make use of, when there should be occasion: but of this none knew but my lords Capel, Hopton, and Colepepper, and myself. As the enemy drew nearer the west, many good men were very solicitous, that the duke should be removed from Pendennis, having a great jealousy of the interest he had in the governor; of which there was so universal a suspicion, that Mr. Porter, who lay some time at Penryn, writ to me, "that if he were not speedily disposed to some other place, they feared the castle would be betrayed:" and sir Richard Greenvil writ earnestly to the prince

about it, and sir Harry Killigrew (a person of entire affections to the king, and a true friend of the governor) very importunately. So that about the month of November, the king's warrant for his removal was sent to sir Arthur Basset, governor of the Mount; who went to Pendennis in the morning, and took him with him to the Mount, in order to remove him to Scilly, when the time should require it; the duke expressing great trouble and discontent that he should be removed, and pretending, "that he could not ride for the stone," (of which he complained so much, that he had petitioned the king for leave to go into France to be cut,) and the governor, and all that family and garrison, made show of no less grief to part with him, he having begotten a great opinion in that people of his integrity and innocence. And when the duke saw there was no remedy, he mounted a horse that was provided for him, and passed the journey very well.

After the loss of Dartmouth, my lord Colepepper (as he had done sometimes before) spake with me of the duke, and told me he would be able to do the king great service in the business of Scotland; and that he was persuaded he might be made of great use, and that Dr. Frazier (who had sometimes spoke with me to that purpose) was of opinion, that if his lordship and I spake with the duke, he would be persuaded to do any thing we advised. I answered, I thought otherwise, for that, upon all the discourse I had with him, he seemed wholly intent on his liberty, and to attempt nothing without that: and Dr. Frazier drove in all his discourse with me to that point too; which, I said, if our judgments were satisfied, (as mine was not,) I conceived not to be in the prince's power. My lord Colepepper seemed confident (though I had often before acquainted him with all that had passed) that the duke might easily be persuaded to act his part before he had his liberty. I was then sent again to Pendennis, to hasten the provisions and the works, and went about by Foy and Low, thither to take order for some provisions which had been made in those places by my direction. When I came to Truro, I heard that the lord Colepepper and Dr. Frazier had lain there the night before, and were that morning gone to the Mount. I easily guessed the

occasion, though I wondered much at it, having left them both at Launceston. The next day we met, and then my lord Colepepper told me that the duke, upon much discourse and persuasion, had consented "to send a servant to the Scots army in England, (who should likewise pass by the king, and carry any letters to his majesty from the prince,) to persuade them to comply with the king; and that he would likewise despatch Charles Murray into Scotland, instructed to his brother Lanrick, and that party, to oblige them to join with Mountrose." But Dr. Frazier confessed to those he trusted, "that the duke rather consented to it to satisfy my lord Colepepper's vehemence and importunity, than that he had any great hope of success by it; insisting still, that nothing but his own liberty would do it:" for which he gave a reason, that before had never been heard of, and was very contrary to what the duke had said to the chancellor, which was, "that the state of Scotland was so sensible of the injury done to the duke by his imprisonment, (which he had said before that they were very glad of,) that they had made an order, that there should never be a treaty with the king, or agreeing with Mountrose, till he was at liberty, or brought to a legal trial." And when Charles Murray went to him for his instructions, though he said much for him to say again to his friends, and his brother, towards their declaring for the king, he discouraged him much as to the journey, representing to him "his own danger, and the strict orders that were in Scotland against divisive motions; of which, he said, he feared this would be taken for one."

This made the council to have no mind to be engaged in any treaty with him, and less in proposing or consenting to his liberty; not only upon the former knowledge they had of his disposition and nature, in which they had no confidence, but also that they believed, if he were not sincere, he would do much mischief; and the more for being in any degree trusted; if he were sincere, that he would be able to do more good for the king, by being redeemed out of prison by the enemy, than by being released by the king or prince. And therefore, when the prince removed

in that haste and disorder from Pendennis to Scilly, there could be no possibility of stirring him; so that, at the surrender of the Mount, which was, by his advice, much sooner than they had reason to do it, when they were able to defend themselves for many months, he was enlarged, and removed himself to London by speedy journeys on horseback; and did never after complain of the stone; which he before protested "would kill him, if he were not cut within a year."

We left the king in Oxford, free from the trouble and uneasiness of those perpetual and wandering marches, in which he had been so many months exercised; and quiet from all rude and insolent provocations. He was now amongst his true and faithful counsellors and servants, whose affection and loyalty had first engaged them in his service, and which stuck to him to the end; and who, if they were not able to give him assistance, to stem that mighty torrent that overbore both him and them, paid him still the duty that was due to him, and gave him no vexation when they could not give him comfort. There were yet some garrisons which remained in his obedience, which were like, during the winter season, to be preserved from any attempt of the enemy. But upon the approach of spring, if the king should be without an army in the field, the fate of those few places was easy to be discerned. And which way an army could possibly be brought together, or where it should be raised, was not within the compass of the wisest man's comprehension. However, the more difficult it was, the more vigour was to be applied in the attempt. Worcester, as it was neighbouring to Wales, had the greatest outlet and elbow-room; and the parliament party that had gotten any footing there, behaved themselves with that insolence and tyranny, that even they who had called them thither, were weary of them, and ready to enter into any combination to destroy them. Upon this prospect, and some invitation, the king sent the lord Astley (whom he had before, at his being at Cardiff, constituted governor of those parts, in the place of the lord Gerrard) to Worcester, with order "to proceed, as he should find himself able, towards the gather-

ing a body of horse together, against the spring, from those garrisons which were left, and from Wales:" and what progress he made towards it will be part of the sad account which belongs to the next year.

When a full prospect, upon the most mature deliberation, was taken of all the hopes which might with any colour of reason be entertained; all that occurred, appeared so hopeless and desperate, that it was thought fit to resort to an old expedient, that had been found as desperate as any; which was a new overture for a treaty of peace: for which they who advised it had no other reason, but that they could not tell what else to do. Cromwell had left Fairfax about Exeter, and with a party selected had set down before Basing, and his imperious summons having been rejected, he stormed the place and took it, and put most of the garrison to the sword: which so terrified other places, that Winchester shortly after rendered upon easy conditions. The lesser garrisons in the north, which had stood out till now, were rendered every day; and the Scottish army, which had marched as far as their own borders, was called back, and required to besiege Newark. So that whoever thought the sending to the parliament (puffed up and swoln with so many successes) for a peace, would prove to no purpose, was not yet able to tell, what was like to prove to better purpose. And this reflection alone prevailed with the king, who had enough experimented those inclinations, to refer entirely to the council, "to choose any expedient, they thought most probable to succeed, and to prepare any message they would advise his majesty to send to the parliament." And when they had considered it, the overtures he had already made, by two several messages, to which he had received no answer, were so ample, that they knew not what addition to make to them; but concluded, "that this message should contain nothing but a resentment of that, and a demand of an answer to the messages his majesty had formerly sent for a treaty of peace."

And this message had the same entertainment which the former had received. It was received, read, and then laid aside without any debate; which they who wished well to

it, had not credit or courage to advance; yet still found means to convey their advice to Oxford, "that the king should not give over that importunity:" and they who had little hopes of better effects from it, were yet of opinion, "that the neglecting those gracious invitations, made by his majesty for peace, would shortly make the parliament so odious, that they would not dare long to continue in the same obstinacy." The Scots were grieved and enraged, to see their idol presbytery so undervalued and slighted, that besides the independents' power in the city, their very Assembly of Divines every day lost credit and authority to support it; and desired nothing more than a treaty for peace: and many others who had contributed most to the suppression of the king's power, were now much more afraid of their own army, than ever they had been of his authority; and believed, that if a treaty were once set on foot, it would not be in the power of the most violent to render it ineffectual: and whatever they believed themselves, they conveyed this to some about the king, as the concurrent advice of all who pretended to wish well: and some men took upon them to send the subject of what message the king should send, and clothed in such expressions, as they conceived were like to gain ground; which his majesty could not but graciously accept, though he very seldom imitated their style.

After the king had long expected an answer to his last message, induced by those and the like reasons above mentioned, he sent again to the parliament, "that they would send a safe conduct for the duke of Richmond, and the earl of Southampton, Mr. John Ashburnham, and Mr. Geoffrey Palmer; by whom he would make such particular propositions to them as he hoped would produce a peace." To this they returned an answer, such as it was, "that it would be inconvenient, and might be of dangerous consequence, to admit those lords and gentlemen to come into their quarters; but that they were preparing some propositions, which, when finished, should be sent to his majesty in bills, to be signed by him; which would be the only way to produce a peace." The king understood well what such bills would contain, and which when he had granted, he should have nothing left to

deny; and therefore liked not, that such conclusions should be made without a treaty. He resolved once more to try another way, which having been never yet tried, he believed they could not deny; and if granted, what hazard soever his person should be in, he should discover, whether he had so many friends in the parliament and the city, as many men would persuade him to conclude; and whether the Scots had ever a thought of doing him service. He sent to them, towards the end of December, "that since all other overtures had proved ineffectual, he desired to enter into a personal treaty with the two houses of parliament at Westminster, and the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland, upon all matters which might conduce to the peace and happiness of the distracted kingdoms; and to that purpose his majesty would come to London, or Westminster, with such of his servants as now attended him, and their followers, not exceeding in the whole the number of three hundred persons, if he might have the engagement of the two houses of parliament, the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland, of the chief commanders in sir Thomas Fairfax's army, and of those of the Scottish army, for his free and safe coming to and abode in London, or Westminster, for the space of forty days; and after that time, for his free and safe repair to Oxford, Worcester, or Newark, if a peace should not be concluded: and for their better encouragement to hope well from this treaty, his majesty offered to settle the militia in such persons as should be acceptable to them."

This message indeed awakened them, and made them believe that the gamesters who were to play this game, looked into their hands, and hoped to find a party in their own quarters; and that, if they should neglect to send an answer to this message, their silence might be taken for consent, and that they should quickly hear the king was in London; which they did not wish. They made thereupon more than ordinary haste, to let his majesty know, "that there had been no delay on their parts; but for the personal treaty desired by his majesty, after so much innocent blood shed in the war by his commands and commissions," (with the mention of many other odious particulars,) "they conceived, that

until satisfaction and security were first given to both kingdoms, his majesty's coming thither could not be convenient, nor by them assented to; nor did they apprehend it a means conducing to peace, to accept of a treaty for few days, with any thoughts or intentions of returning to hostility again." They observed, "that his majesty desired the engagement, not only of the parliament, but of the chief commanders in sir Thomas Fairfax's army, and those of the Scottish army; which, they said, was against the privilege and honour of parliament, to have those joined with them, who were subject and subordinate to their authority." They renewed what they had said in their last answer, "that they would shortly send some bills to his majesty, the signing of which would be the best way to procure a good and a safe peace."

And though the king was not willing to acquiesce with this stubborn rejection, but sent message upon message still to them for a better answer, and at last offered "to dismantle all his garrisons, and to come to and reside with his parliament, if all they who had adhered to him might be at liberty to live in their own houses, and to enjoy their own estates, without being obliged to take any oaths, but what were enjoined by the law;" he could never procure any other answer from them. And lest all this should not appear affront enough, they published an ordinance, as they called it, "that if the king should, contrary to the advice of the parliament already given to him, come, or attempt to come, within the lines of communication, that then the committee of the militia should raise such forces as they should think fit, to prevent any tumult that might arise by his coming, and to suppress any that should happen; and to apprehend any who should come with him, or resort to him; and to secure his person from danger:" which was an expression they were not ashamed always to use, when there was no danger that threatened him, but what themselves contrived, and designed against him. To this their ordinance they added another injunction, "that all who had ever borne arms for his majesty" (whereof very many upon the surrender of garrisons, and liberty granted to them, by their articles upon those surrenders, were come thither) "should immediately

depart, and go out of London, upon penalty of being proceeded against as spies." So that all doors being, in this obstinate manner, shut against a treaty, all thoughts of that, at least with reference to the parliament, were laid aside; and all endeavours used to gather such a power together, as might make them see that his majesty was not out of all possibility of being yet able to defend himself.

Though all hopes, as I said, were desperate of any treaty with the parliament, and consequently many hazards were to be run, in the contriving a peace any other way; yet the sustaining the war, with any probability of success, was the next desirable thing to a peace, and preferable before any such peace, as was reasonably to be hoped for from the party that governed the army, which governed the parliament. The king therefore used all the means which occurred to him, or which were advised and proposed by others, to divide the independent party; and to prevail with some principal persons of them, to find their content and satisfaction in advancing the king's interest. That party comprehended many who were neither enemies to the state, or to the church, but desired heartily that a peace might be established upon the foundations of both, so their own particular ambitions might be complied with. And to them the king thought he might be able to propose very valuable compensations for any service they could do him; and the power of the presbyterians, as they were in conjunction with the Scots, seemed no unnatural argument to work upon those, who professed to be swayed by matter of conscience in religion: since it was out of all question, that they should never find the least satisfaction to their scruples and their principles in church government, from those who pretended to erect the kingdom of Jesus Christ.[1] And it was thought to be no ill presage towards the repairing of the fabric of the church of

[1] This seems to allude to a vote which at this time passed in the house of commons, and which Whitlock relates in these words; "The house being informed that an intended petition for *establishing presbytery as the discipline of Jesus Christ*, they voted it *to be scandalous*." Independency at this time beginning to get the upper hand in the house of commons.—W.

England, that its two mortal enemies, who had exposed it to so much persecution and oppression, hated each other as mortally, and laboured each other's destruction, with the same fury and zeal they had both proscribed her. And this reasonable imagination very much disposed the king, who was well acquainted with the unruly spirit and malice of the presbytery, to think it possible that he might receive some benefit from the independents; who were a faction newly grown up, and with which he was utterly unacquainted: and his majesty's extraordinary affection for the church made him the less weigh and consider the incompatibility and irreconcileableness of that faction with the government of the state; of which, it may be, he was the less sensible, because he thought nothing more impossible, than that the English nation should submit to any other than monarchical government. Then there were an over-active and busy kind of men, who still undertook to make overtures as agreeable to the wish of some principal leaders of that party, and as with their authority, and so prevailed with the king, to suffer some persons of credit near him, to make some propositions, in his name, to particular persons. And it is very probable, that as the same men who made the expectations of those people appear to the king much more reasonable and moderate, than in truth they were, so they persuaded the others to believe, that his majesty would yield to many more important concessions, than he would ever be induced to grant. And so either side had, in a short time, a clear view into each other's intentions, and quickly gave over any expectation of benefit that way; save that the independents were willing, that the king should cherish the hopes of their compliance, and the king as willing that they should believe that his majesty might be prevailed with to grant more, than at first he appeared resolved to do.

The truth is, though that party was most prevalent in the parliament, and comprehended all the superior officers of the army, (the general only excepted; who thought himself a presbyterian,)[1] yet there was only three men, Vane, Crom-

[1] His best reason for thinking so was because his wife was one.—W.

well, and Ireton, who governed and disposed all the rest according to their sentiments; and without doubt they had not yet published their dark designs to many of their own party, nor would their party, at that time, have been so numerous and considerable, if they had known, or but imagined, that they had entertained those thoughts of heart, which they grew every day less tender to conceal, and forward enough to discover.

But there was another intrigue now set on foot, with much more probability of success, both in respect of the thing itself, and the circumstances with which it came accompanied; and that was a treaty with the Scots, by the interposition and mediation of the crown of France; which, to that purpose at this time, sent an envoy, one Montrevil, to London, with some formal address to the parliament, but intentionally to negociate between the king and the Scots; whose agent at Paris had given encouragement to the queen of England, then there, to hope that that nation would return to their duty; and the queen regent, in the great generosity of her heart, did really desire to contribute all that was in her power to the king's recovery. And to that purpose, she sent Montrevil at this time with credentials to the king, as well as to the parliament; by which the queen had opportunity to communicate her advice to the king her husband; and the envoy had authority "to engage the faith of France, for the performance of whatsoever the king should promise to the Scots."

This was the first instance, and it will appear a very sorry one, that any sovereign prince gave, of wishing a reconciliation, or to put a period to the civil war in his majesty's dominions; towards the contrivance whereof, and the frequent fomenting it, too many of them contributed too much. The old mistaken and unhappy maxim, "that the crown of England could balance the differences which fell out between the princes of Europe, by its inclining to either party," had made the ministers of that state too negligent in cultivating the affections of their neighbours by any real obligations; as if they were to be arbiters only in the differences which fell

out between others, without being themselves liable to any impression of adverse fortune. This made the unexpected calamity that befell this kingdom not ingrateful to its neighbours on all sides; who were willing to see it weakened and chastised by its own strokes.

Cardinal Richelieu, out of the natural haughtiness of his own nature, and immoderate appetite to do mischief, under the disguise of being jealous of the honour of his master, had discovered an implacable hatred against the English, from that unhappy provocation by the invasion of the Isle of Rhé, and the declared protection of Rochelle; and took the first opportunity, from the indisposition and murmurs of Scotland, to warm that people into rebellion, and saw the poison thereof prosper, and spread to his own wish; which he fomented by the French ambassador in the parliament, with all the venom of his heart; as hath been mentioned before. As he had not unwisely driven the queen mother out of France, or rather kept her from returning, when she had unadvisedly withdrawn herself from thence, so he was as vigilant to keep her daughter, the queen of England, from coming thither; which she resolved to have done, when she carried the princess royal into Holland; in hope to work upon the king her brother, to make such a seasonable declaration against the rebels of England and Scotland, as might terrify them from the further prosecution of their wicked purposes. But it was made known to her, "that her presence would not be acceptable in France;"[1] and so, for the present, that enterprise was declined.

But that great cardinal being now dead, and the king himself within a short time after, the administration of the affairs of that kingdom, in the infancy of the king, and under his mother, the queen regent, was committed to cardinal Mazarine, an Italian by birth, and subject to the king of Spain, and raised by Richelieu to the degree of a cardinal, for his great dexterity in putting Casal into the hands of

[1] Richelieu was not mistaken in believing the daughter full as vicious, intriguing, and ambitious of rule as the mother.---W.

France, when the Spaniard had given it up to him, as the nuntio of the pope, and in trust that it should remain in the possession of his holiness, till the title of the duke of Mantua should be determined. This cardinal was a man rather of different than contrary parts from his predecessor; and fitter to build upon the foundations which he had laid, than to have laid those foundations; and to cultivate, by artifice, dexterity, and dissimulation, (in which his nature and parts excelled,) what the other had begun with great resolution and vigour, and even gone through with invincible constancy and courage. So that, the one having broken the heart of all opposition and contradiction of the crown, by the cutting off the head of the duke of Montmorency, and reducing monsieur, the brother of the king, to the most tame submission, and incapacity of fomenting another rebellion, it was very easy for the other, to find a compliance from all men, who were sufficiently terrified from any contradiction. So that how great things soever this last minister performed for the service of that crown,[1] during the minority of the king, they may all, in justice, be imputed to the prudence and providence of cardinal Richelieu; who had reduced and disposed the whole nation to an entire subjection and submission to what should be imposed upon them.

Cardinal Mazarine, when he came first to that great ministry, was without any personal animosity against the person of the king, or the English nation; and was no otherwise delighted with the distraction and confusion they were both involved in, than as it disabled the whole people from making such a conjunction with the Spaniard, as might make the prosecution of that war (upon which his whole heart was set) the more difficult to him: which he had the more reason to apprehend by the residence of don Alonso de Cardenas, ambassador from the king of Spain, still at London, making all addresses to the parliament. When the queen had

[1] The civil war of the Frond is no contradiction to this truth; *for the disposition of the whole nation to subjection* was the true cause why such men as the coadjutor, the prince of Conde, and Turenne, could do so little, when they took arms against the court.---W.

been compelled in the last year, upon the advance of the earl of Essex into the west, to transport herself out of Cornwall into France, she had found there as good a reception as she could expect; and received as many expressions of kindness from the queen regent, and as ample promises from the cardinal, as she could wish. So that she promised herself a very good effect from her journey; and did procure from him such a present supply of arms and ammunition, as, though of no great value in itself, she was willing to interpret, as a good evidence of the reality of his intentions. But the cardinal did not yet think the king's condition low enough; and rather desired, by administering little and ordinary supplies, to enable him to continue the struggle, than to see him victorious over his enemies; when he might more remember, how slender aid he had received, than that he had been assisted; and might make himself arbiter of the peace between the two crowns.[1] And therefore he was more solicitous to keep a good correspondence with the parliament, and to profess a neutrality between the king and them, than inclined to give them any jealousy, by appearing much concerned for the king.

But after the battle of Naseby was lost, and that the king seemed so totally defeated, that he had very little hope of appearing again in the head of an army, that might be able to resist the enemy, the cardinal was awakened to new apprehensions; and saw more cause to fear the monstrous power of the parliament, after they had totally subdued the king, than ever he had to apprehend the excess of greatness in the crown: and therefore, besides the frequent incitements he received from the generosity of the queen regent, who really desired to apply some substantial relief to the king, he was himself willing to receive any propositions from the queen

[1] Mazarine might reasonably suspect this, if Bolingbroke's anecdote may be depended on, who says, that Charles I. before the troubles, was sensible that the balance of power between France and Spain was changing apace; and therefore when he found that Richelieu had some designs on Flanders, he sent him word, that if the French persisted in that attempt, he would come over at the head of twenty thousand men to oppose it.—W.

of England, by which she thought that the king her husband's service might be advanced; and had always the dexterity and artifice, by letting things fall in his discourse, in the presence of those, who, he knew, would observe and report what they heard or conceived, to cause that to be proposed to him, which he had most mind to do, or to engage himself in. And so he had application enough from the covenanting party of Scotland (who from the beginning had depended upon France, by the encouragement and promises of cardinal Richelieu) to know how to direct them, to apply themselves to the queen of England, that they might come recommended by her majesty to him, as a good expedient for the king's service. For they were not now reserved in their complaints of the treatment they received from the parliament, and of the terrible apprehension they had of being disappointed of all their hopes, by the prevalence of the independent army, and of their faction in both houses; and therefore wished nothing more, than a good opportunity to make a firm conjunction with the king; towards which they had all encouragement from the cardinal, if they made their address to the queen, and if her majesty would desire the cardinal to conduct it. And because many things must be promised, on the king's behalf, to the Scots upon this their engagement, "the crown of France should give credit and engage as well that the Scots should perform all that they should promise, as that the king should make good whatsoever should be undertaken by him, or by the queen on his behalf."

This was the occasion and ground of sending monsieur Montrevil into England, as is mentioned before. And he arrived there in January, with as much credit as the queen regent could give him to the Scots, and as the queen of England could give him to the king; who likewise persuaded his majesty to believe, "that France was now become really kind to him, and would engage all its power to serve him; and that the cardinal was well assured, that the Scots would behave themselves henceforwards very honestly;" which his majesty was willing to believe, when all other hopes had failed, and all the overtures made by him for a treaty had been rejected. But it was not long before he was undeceiv-

ed; and discerned that this treaty was not like to produce better fruit, than his former overtures had done. For the first information he received from Montrevil, after his arrival in England, and after he had conferred with the Scottish commissioners, was, "that they peremptorily insisted upon his majesty's condescension and promise, for the establishment of the presbyterian government in England, as it was in Scotland; without which, he said, there was no hope, that they would ever join with his majesty;" and therefore the envoy pressed his majesty "to give them satisfaction therein, as the advice of the queen regent and the cardinal, and likewise of the queen his wife;" which exceedingly troubled the king. And the Scots alleged confidently, "that the queen had expressly promised to sir Robert Moray," (a cunning and a dexterous man, who had been employed by them to her majesty,) "that his majesty should consent thereunto." And they produced a writing signed by the queen, and delivered to sir Robert Moray, wherein there were such expressions concerning religion, as nothing pleased the king; and made him look upon that negociation, as rather a conspiracy against the church between the Roman catholics and presbyterians, than as an expedient for his restoration, or preservation: and he was very much displeased with some persons, of near trust about the queen, to whose misinformation and advice he imputed what her majesty had done in that particular.

And thereupon deferred not to let monsieur Montrevil know, "that the alteration of the government in the church was expressly against his conscience; and that he would never consent to it; that what the queen his wife had seemed to promise, proceeded from her not being well informed of the constitution of the government of England; which could not consist with the change that was proposed." But his majesty offered "to give all the assurance imaginable, and hoped that the queen regent would engage her royal word on his behalf in that particular, that the maintenance and support of the episcopal government in England should not in any degree shake, or bring the least prejudice to that government that was then settled in Scotland;" and, further he offered,

"that if the Scots should desire to have the free exercise of their religion, according to their own practice and custom, whilst they should be at any time in England, that he would assign them convenient places to that purpose in London, or any other part of the kingdom, where they should desire it." Nor could all the importunity or arguments, used by Montrevil, prevail with his majesty to enlarge those concessions, or in the least to recede from the positiveness of his resolution; though he informed him of "the dissatisfaction both the Scottish commissioners, and the presbyterians in London had in his majesty's resolution, and averseness from gratifying them in that, which they always had, and always would insist upon; and that the Scots were resolved to have no more to do with his majesty, but were resolved to agree with the independents; from whom they could have better conditions than from him; and he feared such an agreement was too far advanced already."

Many answers and replies passed between the king and Montrevil in cipher, and with all imaginable secrecy; in which, whatever reproaches were cast upon him afterwards, he always gave the king very clear and impartial information of the temper and of the discourses of those people with whom he was to transact. And though he did, upon all occasions, with much earnestness, advise his majesty to consent to the unreasonable demands of the Scots, which, he did believe, he would be at last compelled to do, yet it is as certain, that he did use all the arguments the talent of his understanding, which was a very good one, could suggest to him, to persuade the Scots to be contented with what the king had so frankly offered and granted to them; and he did all he could to persuade and convince them, that their own preservation, and that of their nation, depended upon the preservation of the king, and the support of his regal authority. And it is very memorable, that, in answer to a letter which Montrevil writ to the king, and in which he persuaded his majesty to agree with the Scots upon their own demands, and, amongst other arguments, assured his majesty, "that the English presbyterians were fully agreed with the Scots," (which his majesty believed they would never do,)

the Scots having declared, "that they would never insist upon the settling any other government than was at that time practised in London;"[1] urging many other successes, which they had at that time obtained; the king, after some expressions of his adhering to what he had formerly declared, used these words in his letter of the 21st of January to monsieur Montrevil; "Let them never flatter themselves so with their good successes: without pretending to prophecy, I will foretell their ruin, except they agree with me; however it shall please God to dispose of me;" which they had great reason to remember after.

But because, though this treaty was begun, and proceeded so far as is recited, in the end of the present year, of the actions whereof we have given this account, yet it was carried on, and did not conclude, till some months after the next year was begun, we shall put an end to this relation at present, when the year 1645 (*O. S.*) expires, and resume what is to be come, in its place of the year ensuing: only, before we finish our account of the actions of this unfortunate year forty-five, we must mention one more, which happened on the two and twentieth of March, just as the year was expiring.

The king had hoped to draw out of the few garrisons still in his possession, such a body of horse and foot, as might enable him to take the field early in the spring, though without any fixed design. But this was dashed in the very beginning, by the total rout and defeat the lord Astley underwent; who being upon his march from Worcester towards Oxford, with two thousand horse and foot, and the king having appointed to meet him, with another body of fifteen hundred horse and foot, letters and orders miscarried, and were intercepted; whereby the enemy came to have notice of the resolution, and drew a much greater strength from their several garri-

[1] This, as the great historian observes, is a very *memorable* circumstance, and shews how much the presbyterians were answerable for the overthrow of the constitution. All the difference between them and the independents being only this, that they were indeed for having a pageant of a king, but the other went to the abolition of the very name.—W.

sons of Gloucester, Warwick, Coventry, and Evesham. So that the lord Astley was no sooner upon his march, than they followed him; and the second day, after he had marched all night, and when he thought he had escaped all their quarters, they fell upon his wearied troops; which, though a bold and stout resistance was made, were at last totally defeated; and the lord Astley himself, sir Charles Lucas, who was lieutenant general of the horse, and most of the other officers, who were not killed, were taken prisoners. The few who escaped, were so scattered and dispersed, that they never came together again; nor did there remain, from that minute, any possibility for the king to draw any other troops together in the field.

APPENDIX, A.

REFERRED TO IN PAGES 1580 and 1587.

THERE was not the same union and concurrence in the king's quarters. As soon as the king came to Oxford, instead of any man's contributing his advice and assistance for what was next to be done, every man took great freedom in censuring what was past. Many cried out upon the sitting down before Gloucester, not only as a very unskilful act, but perfidiously designed by those who wished not that the king's affairs should prosper, and were corrupted by the parliament; and this clamour was improved by the discourses of those who had left them after the loss of Bristol, and reported that the prime leaders and governors in both houses then declared, that all their hope was, that the king would be persuaded to engage before Gloucester, which if he should not do, and marched directly towards London, they were undone; and that out of the apprehension of such a resolution in the king, that many of the principal and most obnoxious members and citizens, who had been most active, had shipped their estates for Holland, and kept vessels ready for their own transportation. But as the first was a calumny without the least ground and colour, there being then no person of credit with the king in his counsels, who was not of unblemished integrity to his cause; so the other fancy of marching towards London was much more unreasonable than the course which was taken. For besides that the king's army was exceeding small (I speak of the body of his foot) when he marched from Bristol, though it increased wonderfully before Gloucester, it cannot be imagined, if the earl of Essex was able to draw out the train-bands and auxiliaries of London, (which was the strength of his army,) to march as far as Gloucester, he would have engaged a far greater body of them to have met the king nearer London. Indeed if, after the taking of Bristol, the king had marched into Hampshire, and so advanced through Sussex (which stood generally well inclined to his service) into Kent, where there were about that time some commotions and insurrections of the people, which, being seconded and formed, might have grown very terrible to the parliament, and without any countenance from the king gave them some trouble, and were not dispersed without blood; and at the same time, if the marquis of Newcastle, (for the king had now conferred that dignity upon him,) who had then totally defeated the lord Fairfax, and driven him

into Hull, which was the only shelter the enemy had in that large, rich, populous county, had advanced with his full power into the associated counties, through Lincolnshire into Norfolk, where the people had suffered long and grievously under the parliament; and had now taken so much courage, that the town of Lynn, a port and harbour strongly situated, by the virtue of the inhabitants especially, and encouragement of some gentlemen of the county, retired thither, shut the gates against the earl of Manchester, and endured near a month's siege; it might very much have troubled the parliament to have divided their strength into two armies, and the distempers within the city of London would probably have produced some confusion, when it should have been manifest that that city was to provide out of itself two armies to send out, and power enough for its own security and defence. But since the unhappy temper of the north was such, that it was rather thought to carry that victorious and flourishing army before the walls of Hull, than to make a progress southward, where probably it would not have met a resistance it could not remove, I am still of the opinion, that the king's sitting down before Gloucester (however it succeeded) was the next best, and in reason to be preferred far before marching towards London, or going nearer London upon its single confidence. And no doubt, according to the fate in war, where whatsoever proves unfortunate in the execution is concluded to be improvident in the counsel, if the enterprise upon Bristol (which was in reason more likely to have miscarried, than the other was afterwards upon Gloucester) had not succeeded, that counsel (which upon the event was generally applauded) would have been as severely censured; and it would have been then thought, (and it may be upon as much reason,) that upon the defeat of Waller, when the body of Cornish foot was unfoiled, and the king's forces received so great an addition by the access of that guard which attended the queen out of the north, was the time to have found out the earl of Essex's broken and dismayed army, and to have followed them to the walls of London, with messages of grace and favour to the city, and overtures of pardon to the houses; and that the winning of Bristol was not to be put into the scale against the other opportunity.

Others, who approved, or at least thought the engaging before Gloucester was not uncounsellable, were as censorious of the conduct afterwards, that a body of seven thousand horse (for at that time the king's army consisted of no less) should suffer the earl of Essex to march four days together over the fairest campaign in England without disturbance, and that the whole army should not give him battle before he descended the hill into Gloucester; that it had been easy, by the advantage of the situation, and so many horse as might have been spared for that purpose, to have kept the besieged within their

walls, and to have fought upon great advantage even before the town; that after the city was relieved, the earl's marching twenty miles on his journey towards London, before it was known what was become of him, argued most supine negligence in some officers, and that after the enemy was overtaken, and prevented at Newbury upon so great advantage, the beginning the battle without order, and against the resolution in council, (for which no man was ever afterwards called in question,) was never heard of before in a regular army; and there wanted not some who accused even eminent commanders of want of courage as well as conduct in that day's service, and that by such lashity [*lachete*] an opportunity or two was lost, which being pursued had made the day very glorious to the king, with a great, if not full defeat of the enemy. Which aspersions may be presumed to proceed from the melancholy of the loss, and the licence that all men take to censure after such misfortunes, imagining the liberty of discourse to be a kind of justice, when the damage and mischief is universal. Yet it cannot be denied that the spirit, and mettle, and courage of gallant men is not still the same, many being much more daring and cheerful at some times in enterprises of great hazard and apparent danger, than at other times in matters of less difficulty, though of equal concernment: and we often see men very sprightly and vigorously enter upon sharp encounters; and when they find more resistance and opposition than they expected, they grow suddenly weary, and even dismayed, because the enemy is not. Our experience has shewn us many examples of those who have had extraordinary fame of courage in duels, and have gone with a kind of delight always upon such contentions, and yet have been so fearful to walk amongst bullets or within the danger of them, that they have avoided it with great reproach and scandal, when their duty obliged them not to retire or to be absent. On the contrary, others who would enter a breach, or stand in one with a disdain of all shot, have been very hardly drawn (not by any reluctance of conscience) to an emulous contestation with a sword; and when they have entered into it, have behaved themselves marvellous untowardly by the strength and power of their fear. Again, we have known many very worthy men, (and it may be in the first form of gallantry,) who on a sudden surprise of danger unexpected, have confessed great confusion in their countenance and whole demeanour; but upon second thoughts and recollection, or upon a foresight of peril, have composed themselves to a steadiness of temper and resolution, which no disadvantage hath been able to disturb. And on the other side, many who have been quick and undaunted upon exigents and sudden violent alarums, and upon the prospect and continuance of the hazard, have shrunk below a manly boldness. Lastly, there want no examples of many, who, beyond that degree of their age in

which the blood is warmest, and most inclined to adventures, have lain under the just imputation of not daring even to an irresistance of injuries, and yet, being once engaged, and acquainted with the face and custom of danger, have proved hardy and forward to wonder, and, like butchers in a fence-school, with their rude fury, have discountenanced and discomposed the cunning, skill, and resolution of any adversary; and we have been told of others, who, having been nursed up in war, and eaten the bread only of purchase and adventures for the first part of their lives, before their meridian, have declined to so dull an appetite of danger, as if they had not the same souls. Which may persuade us rather, that courage is not the thing we take it to be, than that there are several species and kinds of it; and that all bold actions, and incursions into danger, proceed not from that excellent habit and fearlessness of the mind, which is truly and properly called courage, but from a want of science, and comprehension of the danger a man seems to despise. He that is ready at all hours, and upon all unnecessary occasions, to enter the field in a duel, it may be, wholly depends upon his own skill and the unskilfulness of his adversary; and though he hath subdued his conscience to a carelessness of shedding blood, and committing a murder, hath not the least apprehension of losing his own life, or of danger in the enterprise; and where there is no apprehension of danger, there is no present exercise of courage; and it may be, many who stoutly advance upon a breach, may not have a sense of the hazard they undergo, but, keeping their old motion they are used to, consider that there are so many more to be hit besides themselves, that there is reason enough to believe they may escape, or, possibly, there may be visibly more danger in running away, than in doing one's duty, and then there goes not much courage to the election. And if those and such like fancies and imaginations, and other vain passions and affections, had not a great place and force in our most hazardous and desperate undertakings, but that it was a real contempt of death (which true courage presupposes) that carried us on, it were not possible that the approach or threatening of that death, which we seem to invite, in a hurt or a wound, possibly a very easy, slight one, the sight of our own blood could so much confound the present faculties of the mind, that we are more afraid of death than we were before of disgrace. I speak not of the discomfort, and agony, and compunction, which the weakness upon wounds, and effusion of blood and spirits, and the influence of conscience, and sober, pious, and recollected thoughts may bring upon a man, with the sense of the ill he hath done, but of those (as many such there are) who, in the instant of a hurt, in their full vigour, before the blood or spirits have made any other impression upon their strength than the feeling they are hurt, have lost the delight in what they had

done, and the will to do more; and have been full of those fears afterwards, which they appeared to have been so much without before. Neither could that man, who without remorse had slain so many men, probably so many friends, in duels, if he had ever seriously thought of meeting death there, with such abominable paleness and trepidation, entertain it, when he is presented to it by the hand of justice as a malefactor; for the results of conscience and repentance settle and confirm the courage to suffer bravely what is either just or unavoidable, not distract and enfeeble it; but all that ugly terror proceeds from the presence of death, which he always feared, and could not now avoid. That courage therefore is the best which is the most opposite to fear; and as fear is nothing else (if you will believe Solomon) but a betraying of the succours which reason offers, so courage is nothing else but such a temper and healthy constitution of mind, as keeps the supplies of reason always ready, and does all things without fear, and leaves nothing undone for fear, which reason dictates to be his duty; and he that fears to meet death where he should not be, and dares to do his duty against any hazards, will give the best argument of courage, and meet death in a better posture, than they who pretend to seek him in a noise and vapour of bold and unnecessary undertakings.

APPENDIX, B.

REFERRED TO IN PAGE 1658.

These conclusions being made with reference to Ireland, the king's first care was (if possible) to prevent the storm from Scotland, presuming, that if the parliament were disappointed of that aid, they would consent to such a peace as might be honourable and safe for him. There were many persons of honour of that kingdom, who professed entire submission and devotion to his majesty, and who I believe really were not inclined to that faction which his majesty apprehended. All these were directed privately to be advised and disposed by the marquis of Hamilton, (whom the king had now raised to the dignity of a duke,) who had solemnly promised his majesty, either by his interest in the councils to prevent the resolution to invade England, or by his power, and the assistance of his party, there to resist it; and therefore all those lords and persons of honour, whom the king relied upon, were directed to be entirely guided by him, all that the king de-

sired from his subjects of that his native kingdom being, that they would not rebel. It is very true, many did then wonder that the king would repose so great a trust in the duke, who had at that time the misfortune not to be heartily confided in by his party of either kingdom; for he had had that rare dexterity, from a person the most avowedly odious to Scotland, and the most undoubtedly obnoxious to the justice of England, not only to wind himself out of those labyrinths in which he was thought to be entangled, but into the good opinion and favour of the parliament, and into the full confidence of his own nation, which unusual fortune always is attended by suspicion and jealousy. Notwithstanding all which, the king could not reasonably avoid the giving him at that time this credit. He was by much, in alliance and dependents, the most powerful man in that kingdom, and so, if he were willing, was unquestionably able to give life and head to any party that should stoutly declare for the king, which no other man in Scotland, how well affected soever, was able to do: for though wary and reserved men might live there, and enjoy their liberty and estates, yet all persons who expressed a public dislike of what they did, found no safety amongst them; and therefore the earl of Mountrose, and some other noblemen, had been forced to fly out of the kingdom, and were now in the king's armies; for which, before any public declaration in Scotland against the king, they were there proclaimed traitors, and all their estates seized on and confiscated. Besides, the king did really believe that all the artifice the duke had used had been only for his own preservation, without diminution of his affection and duty to him; and that when he could no longer be free from engagement in the war, he would sooner be engaged for him than against him. However, as was said before, there was no other man competent for that trust, and it was much better to oblige him by a confidence, than to incense him by prejudice; and himself was very cheerful in undertaking to stop any such enterprise, and continued the same assurance by his frequent letters to his majesty. When the convention of estates was summoned, being their parliament, expressly against the king's consent, and without any colour of warrant from their own laws, the lords who depended upon his direction, came to him to resolve what was to be done by them, alleging they thought it not justifiable in themselves, and very dishonourable to the king, that they should be present at that meeting, which being convened against order, they might easily conclude would proceed as irregularly. The duke told them it was the king's pleasure that he and they should be all present at the convention, and that it was possible they might be there able to direct the violence that was feared; if they could not, he would make such a declaration, if they would join with him, that should manifest what their opinions were: and

by this means they were all, contrary to their own judgment, drawn to sit with, and consequently to countenance, those who were already declared against the king. It is very true that the king had given his consent that they should all go to the convention; for the duke writ him word, that it was their unanimous opinion that it would very much conduce to his service that they should all appear there; that they believed they should be able to make so strong a party, as to cross any solemn act that should reflect upon the public peace, his majesty's honour, or interest: if they could not, having so much reason and justice on their side, then would be the time to enter their protestation against what they could not remedy; and from thence would be the proper rise to engage a party in the kingdom.

Upon this instance, the king returned his approbation that they should not absent themselves. After the convention was begun, it was quickly evident, by their high speeches against the king, and their declared resolutions to invade England, what was to be expected; so that the rest looked when the duke would protest. In a dispute one day, the duke was so sharp in his expressions, as if he would protest, that some of the lords of the other party called upon him in an angry manner to explain himself, whether he meant to protest against their protestings. Whereupon the earl of Lanrick, brother to the duke, stood up and said, that noble lord (the duke) understood himself too well, and the high jurisdiction of that court where they were, to protest against the wisdom of the whole kingdom, and besought their lordships to have a more favourable opinion of him; to which the duke by his silence consented: and so there were no more replies upon the matter. Upon which the other lords, seeing what they looked for and was promised, not only not done, but upon the matter a judgment declared by them upon whom the king relied, that it was not to be done, by degrees withdrew to their houses, and shortly after a proclamation was issued out in the king's own name, relating the great danger his person was in by the power of the popish and prelatical party in England, and requiring all his subjects of that his native kingdom, from the age of threescore to sixteen, to appear at a day appointed with their arms, when they should be disposed in such manner as was necessary for his relief and rescue, (which is the way used in that kingdom suddenly to form an army.) And to this declaration and proclamation the earl of Lanrick affixed his majesty's own signet, so that no question very many men of the inferior condition (which may justly remove the brand of infidelity and defection from the nation) did really believe they were summoned by the king himself for his defence and redemption out of distress. Shortly after, the covenant was returned out of England with a full approbation, both houses having taken it, and enjoined it through the kingdom.

Thereupon the lords of the secret council, and those committees that were appointed to manage the affairs, ordered, that whosoever refused to take the covenant should be proceeded against as an enemy to both kingdoms, and his estate be sequestered, and disposed to the use of the public; the assembly likewise of their kirk pronouncing solemn excommunications against them. Then the duke Hamilton, earl of Lanrick, and all the other lords and persons of quality, who would be thought to be of the king's party, made haste out of Scotland, and not one of them being stayed, though they came with their full equipage, they repaired to the king at Oxford. All discharged themselves of blame, by having no authority of themselves without being directed by the duke, who was so far from quickening them to appear, that when they offered and pressed him that they might draw together, and some of them offered to bring with them one hundred horse, and that they might take the opportunity of a solemn funeral, which was to be solemnized in that kingdom for an honourable lady, at which times great resort uses to be of all the friends and allies of that family; the duke utterly dissented, and absolutely refused to join with them. This and other instances of his wariness was alleged with great temper and sobriety by those who desired only to appear innocent themselves, not to charge the duke with failing in his duty. But there were others, to wit, the earls of Crawford and Mountrose, the lords Auboyne, Ogleby, Needsdale, and Markey, who barefaced, and in plain English, accused the duke of treason, and disloyalty to the king from the beginning; that he had, in the first stirs within that kingdom, betrayed the trust reposed in him by his majesty, combined with those who invaded the kingdom, and pretended ever since to be for his majesty; and made those late great promises and undertakings, only that he might engross his majesty's confidence to himself, and thereby keep it out of the power of any other persons to do that service, and to hinder their pernicious designs which were against the king and kingdom. Many charges they gave in against him, in writing, of words spoken, and things done, some of ancient date, others of a later, in great derogation of his majesty's honour and service; and they made oath of the truth of their suggestions, which were indeed of a high nature, and against which the best that could be said, was, that they were all his avowed enemies. That which appeared to his majesty to be capable of no excuse, was the betraying him in the case of going to the convention, under pretence that it was the unanimous advice of the lords, when they were in truth unanimously against it; and the earl of Lanrick's setting the signet to that proclamation; which he denied not, alleging, that he was required so to do by the major part of the council, to which he was to submit; and that if he had refused it, the signet would have been taken from him, to-

gether with his liberty, so that the same mischief would have accrued to the king, and he should not have been able to escape, to do him service. It may be, it wrought somewhat upon his majesty, that the earl of Mountrose, and those lords whose fortunes were most desperate in Scotland, for adhering to him, undertook yet to give some turn to the torrent of that kingdom, and if they could not be diverted from invading England, to kindle the treasons in their own country, by which they should be recalled to quench the fire in their own houses, provided that it might not be in duke Hamilton's power to frustrate their designs. Upon the whole matter, as soon as the duke and his brother came to Oxford, the king sent them word that they should keep their chambers; and shortly after sent the duke with a guard of horse to Bristol, and from thence to Pendennis castle in Cornwall, to be there detained in custody as a close prisoner, with all fit and necessary accommodation. The earl of Lanrick, within few days after the removal of his brother, found means, by the assistance of another Scotchman, a sworn servant to the king, to make an escape; and so he got to London; where he was received with such acceptation and joy, as if he had not fled from Scotland out of any notable animosity to their party.

The king directed the lords of his council to consider what was fit to be further done by him in order to the stopping this inundation, which he was now satisfied was breaking in from Scotland, though the season of the year (the winter being now approached) was thought to be of force enough to keep them for some time from putting their purposes in execution. The lords, albeit they were not forward to conclude that that people always obeyed the dictates of reason and justice and conscience, thought the discourse of an invasion from thence was so distant from all the rules of policy and prudence, and even those obligations in the late treaty, ratified in this present parliament, by which they had so many concessions, that they would not cancel what was due to them, by making a forfeiture of their part; and that they might have no excuse to believe the two houses of parliament, on the behalf of the kingdom, were willing to receive them, they desired his majesty to give all his peers leave to write a letter to the lords of the secret council, and the conservators of the peace between the two kingdoms, to disavow and protest against any such desire, that so, when they considered that there were not above twenty peers privy to their counsels at Westminster, or engaged in their party, (for there were only the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Essex, Kent, Lincoln, Rutland, Salisbury, Suffolk, Warwick, Manchester, Mulgrave, Denbigh, Stamford, Bolingbroke, the lords Say, Dacres, Wharton, Grey of Warke, Willoughby of Parham, Howard of Escrick, Rochford, and Roberts, who were present, or had proxies

there,) and saw the number and names of those who abominated those combinations, they might easily conclude how unacceptable their company would be to the kingdom. The king willingly approved of their advice, and so, about the end of November, they caused this letter to be sent by an express into Scotland, thus directed:

" *To the lords of the privy council, and the conservators of the peace of the kingdom of Scotland.*

" Our very good lords. If for no other reason, yet that posterity may know we have done our duties, and not sat still, while our brethren of Scotland were transported with a dangerous and fatal misunderstanding, that the resolution now taken amongst them for an expedition into England is agreeable to their obligation by the late treaty, and to the wishes and desires of this kingdom, expressed by the two houses of parliament, we have thought it necessary to let your lordships know, that if we had dissented from that act, it could never have been made a law; and when you have examined and considered the names of us who subscribe this letter, (who we hope are too well known to your lordships, and to both kingdoms, to be suspected to want affection to religion, or to the laws and liberties of our country, for the defence and maintenance of which we shall always hold our lives a cheap sacrifice,) and when you are informed that the earls of Arundel and Thanet, and the lords Stafford, Stanhope, Coventry, Goring, and Craven, are in the parts beyond the seas, and the earl of Chesterfield, Westmoreland, and the lord Montague of Boughton, under restraint at London, for their loyalty and duty to his majesty and the kingdom, your lordships will easily conclude how very few now make up the peers at Westminster, there being in truth not above twenty-five lords present or privy to those counsels, or, being absent, consenting or concurring with them: whereas the house of peers consists of above one hundred, besides minors and recusant lords, neither of which keep us company in this address to your lordships. How we, and the major part of the house of commons, come to be absent from thence, is so notorious to all the world, that we believe your lordships cannot be strangers to it; how, several times during our sitting there, multitude of the meanest sort or people, with weapons not agreeing with their condition or custom, in a manner very contrary and destructive to the privilege of parliament, filled up the way between both houses, offering injuries both by words and actions too, and laying violent hands upon several members, crying out many hours together against the established laws in a most tumultuous and menacing way; how no remedy would be submitted to for preventing those tumults; after which, and other unlawful and unparliamentary

actions, many things rejected and settled, upon solemn debate in the house of peers, were again, after many threats and menaces, resumed, altered, and determined, contrary to the custom and laws of parliaments; and so many of us withdrew ourselves from thence, where we could not sit, speak, and vote with honour, freedom, and safety, and are now kept from thence for our duty and loyalty to our sovereign. And we must therefore protest against any invitation which hath been made to our brethren of Scotland to enter this kingdom with an army, the same being as much against their desires, as against the duty of the lords and commons of England. And we do conjure your lordships, by our common allegiance and subjection under our gracious sovereign, by the amity and affection between the two nations, by the treaty of pacification, which by any such act is absolutely dissolved, and by all obligations both divine and human, which can preserve peace upon earth, to use your uttermost endeavours to prevent the effusion of so much Christian blood, and the confusion and desolation which must follow the unjust invasion of this kingdom, which we, and we are confident all true Englishmen must, interpret as a design of conquest, and to impose new laws upon us. And therefore your lordships may be assured, we shall not so far forget our own interests, and the honour of our nation, as not to expose our lives and fortunes in the just and necessary defence of the kingdom. But if your lordships in truth have any doubts or apprehensions that there now is, or hereafter may be, a purpose to infringe your laws or liberties from any attempt of this kingdom, we do engage our honour to your lordships to be ourselves most religious observers of the act of pacification; and if the breach and violation do not first begin within that kingdom, we are most confident you shall never have cause to complain of this. And having thus far expressed ourselves to your lordships, we hope to receive such an answer from you, as may be a means to preserve a right understanding between the two nations, and lay an obligation upon us to continue

" Your lordships most affectionate, humble servants,

" Ed. Littleton, C. S.	E. Bristol.
L. Cottington.	E. Berkshire.
D. Richmond.	E. Cleveland.
M. Hertford.	E. Marlborough.
M. Newcastle.	E. Rivers.
E. Huntington.	E. Linsey.
E. Bathon.	E. Dover.
E. Southampton.	E. Peterborough.
E. Dorset.	E. Kingston.
E. Northampton.	E. Newport.
E. Devonshire.	E. Portland.

E. Carbery.
V. Conway.
V. Falconbridge.
V. Wilmot.
V. Savile.
L. Mowbray and Maltravers.
L. Darcy and Coniers.
L. Wentworth.
L. Cromwell.
L. Rich.
L. Paget.
L. Digby.
L. Howard of Charleton.
L. Deincourt.
L. Lovelace.
L. Paulet.
L. Mohun.
L. Dunsmore.
L. Seymour.
L. Herbert.
L. Cobham.
L. Capel.
L. Percy.
L. Leigh.
L. Hatton.
L. Hopton.
L. Jermyn.
L. Loughborough.
L. Byron.
L. Withrington."

Whether this clear demonstration would make any impression upon the Scotch nation and counsels or no, the king and all men believed it would have a very useful influence upon the affections and hearts of the people of England, and that they would awake out of those dreams and jealousies which had perplexed their understandings, and, in behalf of the honour and interest of their country, be united against the invasion of a foreign power; and in this respect many were of opinion, who too abstractedly considered rather what should be, than what was like to be, that not only the fame of, but the real marching of the Scots, would much impair the strength and reputation of the parliament. To inculcate this sense throughout the kingdom, the king very prudently resolved of another very useful expedient. Though all inquisitive and discerning men well understood the number and the quality of those few who remained in both houses of parliament at Westminster, by the reverence to whose authority all the contest was made and supported against the king, yet the common people generally believed they had the full numbers, and that there was unity and consent in that body to defend the just liberties and rights of the public; at least the number and condition of those who were absent, or their affections, were not evident enough to be taken notice of; therefore the king thought it worthy of his care to draw all those who were the true and regular members of parliament together to Oxford, and to make use of their advice and counsel, since he could neither receive it, nor they give it, in the place whither they were at first summoned by his writ, presuming, that, when the kingdom should know that four parts of five of the house of peers, and above a major part of the house of commons, were at Oxford with

the king, they would not look upon those at Westminster as the true and full representative body of the whole; and to that purpose he issued out his royal proclamation, declaring the preparations made in Scotland to enter and invade the kingdom, and that they had already actually invaded it, by possessing themselves by force of arms of his town of Berwick, (for thither they sent a garrison as soon as the covenant was agreed,) upon pretence that they were invited thereunto by the desire of both houses of parliament; the which, as he doubted not, all his good subjects of the kingdom would look upon as the most insolent act of ingratitude and disloyalty, and to the apparent breach of the late act of pacification so solemnly made between the kingdoms, and was indeed no other than a design of conquest, and to impose new laws upon this nation. They were not so much as pretending the least provocation or violation from this kingdom, so his majesty was most assured, that the major part of both houses of parliament did from their souls abhor the least thought of introducing that foreign power, to increase and make desperate the miseries of their unhappy country. And therefore, that it might appear to all the world how far the major part of both houses was from such actions of treason and disloyalty, and how grossly those few members remaining at Westminster had and did impose upon his people, his majesty required such of the members of both houses, as well those who had been by the faction of the malignant party expelled for performing their duty to his majesty, and into whose rooms no persons had been since chosen by their country, as the rest who had been driven thence, and all those who, being conscious of their want of freedom, should be now willing to withdraw from that rebellious city, to assemble themselves together at Oxford on Monday the two and twentieth day of January; and all his subjects should see how willing he was to receive advice for the preservation of the religion, laws, and safety of the kingdom, and, as far as lay in his majesty, to restore it to its former peace and security, from those whom they had trusted. And for the better encouragement of those members of either house to resort to him, who might be justly conscious to themselves of having incurred his displeasure, by submitting to or concurring in unlawful actions, and that all the world might see how willing and desirous he was to forget the injuries and indignities offered to his majesty, and, by an union of English hearts, to prevent the lasting miseries which this foreign invasion must bring upon the kingdom, his majesty offered a free and general pardon to all the members of either house, who should at or before the said twenty-second day of January appear at Oxford, and desire the same without exceptions; which, considering the manifest treasons committed against his majesty, and the condition he was now in, improved, by God's wonder-

ful blessing, to a better degree than he had enjoyed at any time since these distractions, was the greatest instance of princely and fatherly care of his people that could be expressed, and which malice itself could not suggest to proceed from any other ground. And therefore he said, he hoped and was confident, that all such who, upon this his gracious invitation, would not return to their duty and allegiance, should be no more thought promoters of the religion, laws, and liberty of the kingdom, (which this way might be, no doubt, settled and secured,) but persons engaged from the beginning, out of their own pride, malice, and ambition, to bring confusion and desolation upon the country; and to that purpose, having long since contrived the design, had invited and joined with a foreign nation to ruin and extinguish their own. What the good fruit was, which was produced by this counsel and proclamation, will be shortly set forth.

There was about the same time another act of council, which (how impertinent soever it may seem to some men to be remembered) was in itself of great weight, and very gravely deliberated. It seemed very repugnant to the rules of policy, that, when all overtures of peace were rejected, and all intercourse from the city of London inhibited and interdicted to his majesty's quarters, there should be any permission that that city should be supplied by the commodities and stock of the counties within the king's obedience, which kept up the trade of that rebellious place, and gave it the pride to contest almost with the whole kingdom: and therefore it was propounded, that his majesty would inhibit and forbid by his proclamation all manner of trade with London throughout his quarters; and that all goods and merchandise going to or from that place, without the king's express licence, should be seized on, and forfeited to his own use. The matter was not lightly weighed and concluded, but several days debated before the lords of the council, there being diversity of opinion between many persons of great experience and understanding in the mystery and course of trade, and in the constitution of the counties, whence trade was especially driven with London. Many were of opinion, that his majesty should by no means prohibit it or interrupt it, that the continuance and improvement of it would be of great profit and advantage to the king; besides that the restraint would appear a very ungracious thing to the people; whereas now that whole odium lay upon the parliament; that those who were fled from London, out of their duty and loyalty, had no other means to draw a subsistence and livelihood to them out of the fortunes they had left there, but by commodities sent from London into the king's quarters, for which they received money there, and by that means many well affected persons, still remaining there, sometimes sent supplies to his majesty, which otherwise they would not be able to do; that it supplied the

king's quarters with money, whereby the people were enabled to pay their contributions, which otherwise they could not do; and if trade were restrained, the manufactures would immediately be determined, and thereupon the people, in all parts, for want of work, would be in danger to starve; the consequence of which extremity might produce a general insurrection, which would be very perilous to the king; at best, that the manufactures would be transported in foreign parts, a mischief not to be repaired again by peace itself. On the other side it was pressed with much vehemence, that such an inhibition of trade was absolutely necessary; that the king could lose nothing by it, and would receive notable benefit; that the rebellion was continued, as it had been raised, by the wealth and submission only of the city of London, and any thing that could impair that wealth would remove that submission; that they alone hitherto felt not the miseries of the war, having the same ease and the same plenty which they had formerly enjoyed, which reconciled them, and united them more to the parliament than any inclination of their affections; whereas, if the trade from thence into foreign parts was suppressed, or to a great degree diminished, by not suffering them to receive those commodities from the countries, by which they carried on their trades, they would immediately find themselves impoverished; and the rich men giving over, the poor would not be able to live, and so their patience would quickly leave them, and they would easily discover the way to their redemption. In the mean time the manufactures would receive no discouragement, nor the countries feel any want of money; for the same trade which was by those commodities carried to London, should be driven in those parts under the king's obedience, of Bristol, Weymouth, Exeter, Dartmouth, and the good harbours of Cornwall, whither as well those well affected merchants, who were driven from London, as strangers, would resort, whereby they would be replenished with money, and all other commodities, of what kind soever; for an evidence whereof many merchants present, of great estates and reputation, undertook before the king, that they would within a month take off all the manufacture of wool which should be brought to any of the western ports, whither the clothiers might as easily send them as to London. By this means shipping would much increase, and seamen be maintained in the king's quarters, from whence extraordinary benefit would accrue to his service. The reasons were very weighty on both sides; and though those latter seemed the stronger, yet it was plain that they were principally grounded upon supposition. For if it should fall out that there was not stock enough to take off the commodities in the king's quarters, as men reasonably considered there would not be, at least not in time, the mischiefs which were offered in the first debate would be in view. But there were two things which

prevailed over the king's judgment, and truly reconciled most differences in opinion. The first, a matter of fact: Some clothiers of Reading complained that they had received invitations from their old customers in London to continue their trade thither, assuring them they should receive the same fair correspondence they had formerly; upon which, with the king's leave, they had sent great quantities of cloth thither, which, in respect of the situation of that town, and the benefit of the river, they could not conveniently send to any other place. The effect was, they sold their cloths at Leaden-hall as they used, and at good prices; the which was no sooner done, but the money due to all such of whose affection to the king's service they had any intimation was seized, as the estates of delinquents and malignants, for the use of the parliament; and they only who were favoured by them, as inclined to their party, were suffered to receive the proceeds of their commodities. Upon which the town desired other provision might be made to take off their cloths, and that there might be no trade to London. The other consideration was, that if any inconvenience should be hereafter discovered by the restraint, it might be removed by the giving licences to trade, by which his majesty might be able to settle and regulate trade in such a manner, that it might be profitable to him, and that he might receive such duties upon it, as might be some supply to him, as it paid excise and customs at London, whereby the merchants there should not be able to undersell those who traded in the west, who, for their transportation and insurance, were at a much greater charge than the other. Upon these reasons the king published his express and absolute pleasure against all trade with London, which, if it had been as well executed as it was deliberated, would without question have proved of singular benefit and advantage to his affairs; but the disorder of the soldier was such, and so great a contempt of all acts of state, that it had not the effect designed, and, in the end, produced no other advantage, than great gains to some particular governors, who, having garrisons near great roads, received great toll for their safe conduct and protection, and sometimes very great seizures of such goods, as thought to have escaped their notice, all which was concerted to their own emolument.

These were the civil preparations and conclusions of council on both sides. In the mean time, both the king's army and the earl of Essex were contented to refresh themselves in their winter quarters, without any notable engagement, both preparing the best they could for the spring, and to be early ready for the field; yet the winter passed not without action. The great preparation that was made at London, &c. *as in page* 1696, *line* 7.

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